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FOUNDER OF POLITICAL ZIONISM

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THEODOR HERZL

FOUNDER OF POLITICAL ZIONISM

by ISRAEL COHEN



New York • THOMAS YOSELOFF • *London*

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Library of Congress Catalogue Card Number: 58-9743

Thomas Yoseloff, *Publisher*

11 East 36th Street

New York 16, N.Y.

Thomas Yoseloff Ltd.

123 New Bond Street

London W. 1, England

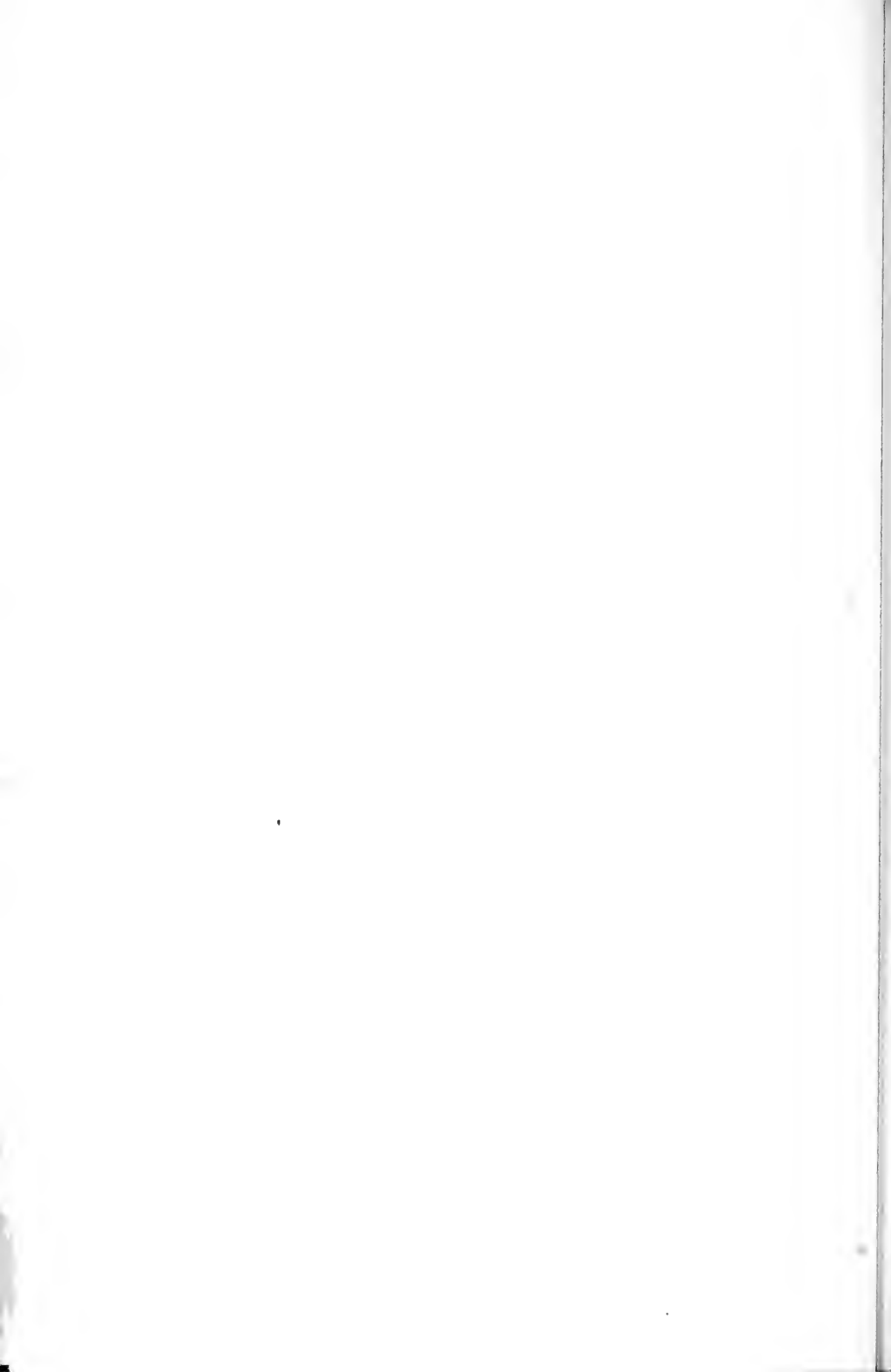


Printed in the United States of America
By American Book-Stratford Press, Inc.

ed. 11/2.

To
Sir Simon Marks, D.Sc., Hon. F.R.C.S.,
as a Tribute to His Services
in the Cause of Zion

Bro - 201



Preface

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL IS AN EVENT OF such far-reaching importance, both in international affairs in general as well as in developments in the Middle East in particular, that it is obviously desirable to have an adequate knowledge of the man who founded the political Zionist movement, which resulted in that event. The material available for the presentation of such an account is voluminous, for probably no other national leader kept so detailed a record of his labors and struggles as did Theodor Herzl. His Diaries, which extend to eighteen hundred printed pages, form a comprehensive and candid record of all his thoughts and actions, his plans and interviews, his hopes and depressions, his successes and setbacks, from the day when he first conceived the Jewish State as the solution of the Jewish problem until mortal sickness overtook him nine years later. They are considerably supplemented by his works and numerous letters, speeches, and addresses, as well as by the writings (in the form either of brief biographies or of articles) by his relatives, friends, and a host of other contemporaries. Moreover, in addition to the wealth of material upon which this book is based, I have had the advantage of a contemporary who had the privilege of seeing and speaking to Theodor Herzl several times in both London and Basle, and have been able to embody in it my personal impressions and recollections of that man of destiny.

I. C.

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Contents

<i>Preface</i>	7
<i>I. Childhood and Youth</i>	19
Birth in Budapest — Parentage — Traditional Marrano ancestry — Early education — <i>Bar-Mitzvah</i> ceremony — Juvenile literary activity — Simon Herzl — Rabbi Alkalai — Death of Pauline Herzl — Family's removal to Vienna.	
<i>II. Student Years</i>	27
Law student at Vienna University — Variety of students' unions — The <i>Albia</i> — Dueling — German nationalism — Dühring's anti-Semitic work — Resignation from the <i>Albia</i> — Hermann Bahr — Early literary efforts — Friendship with Heinrich Kana — Graduation as Doctor of Law — Bar practice in Vienna and Salzburg.	
<i>III. Journalist and Playwright</i>	36
First literary success — Visit to Berlin — Success of <i>Tabarin</i> in New York — Contributor to German and Austrian press — Travel in Italy — Success of comedy in Prague — Collections of causeries — First visit to England — Dramatic collaboration with Wittmann — Production of <i>Der Flüchtling</i> — Marriage to Julie Naschauer — Birth of Pauline — Plays at the Burg Theatre in Vienna — Suicide of Kana — Relations with wife — Birth of Hans — Visit to Paris and the Pyrenees — Appointment as Paris correspondent.	
<i>IV. Correspondent in Paris</i>	48
Professional duties — Associations with French writers — Birth of Trude — <i>Das Palais Bourbon</i> — Correspondence with Schnitzler — Animosity toward theatrical managers — Interest in social	
	9

problems — Preoccupation with the Jewish question — *The Ghetto* — Efforts to secure its production.

V. *The Visionary*

63

Personal experiences of anti-Semitism — Visit to Paris synagogue — Talk with Daudet — The Dreyfus trial — Beginning a Diary — Interview with Baron de Hirsch — Letters to the Baron — *Notes for The Jewish State* — A friend's reaction — Letter to Bismarck — Letters to Chief Rabbi Gûdemann and Albert Rothschild — Support from Max Nordau — Departure from Paris — Conference with Gûdemann in Munich — Theodor Hertzka's *Freiland*.

VI. *The Apostle*

78

Anti-Semitism in Austria — Rohling and Lueger — Benedikt and Bacher — Influence of *Neue Freie Presse* — Talk with Narcisse Leven — Offer from Prime Minister Badeni of editorship of new paper — Attitude of Benedikt and Bacher — Interview with Badeni — Proposed foundation of *Société d'Etudes* — Meeting in house of Chief Rabbi Zadok Kahn — Visit to Israel Zangwill in London — Address to "The Maccabaeans" — Talks with Colonel Goldsmid, Rev. S. Singer, and Asher Myers — Publication of Herzl's scheme in *Jewish Chronicle* — Argument with Benedikt — Speech to Jewish students — Pinsker's *Auto-Emancipation* — Publication of *The Jewish State* — Summary of its arguments — Argentina or Palestine — "The Society of Jews" and "The Jewish Company" — Hebrew as national language — Organized exodus to Jewish State.

VII. *First Political Moves*

97

Hostile reception of Herzl's pamphlet — Ignored by *Neue Freie Presse* — Letter from Gladstone — Attitude of *Hovevei Zion* organization — Earlier advocates of Jewish restoration — Moses Hess — Kalischer, Smolenskin, Lilienblum, Ben-Yehudah, Pinsker — The *Kadimah* — Agricultural settlements in Palestine — The Kattowitz Conference — Support for Herzl from societies and individuals — Rev. William Hechler — Death of Baron de Hirsch — First interview with Grand Duke of Baden — Count Philip Newlinsky — Visit to Constantinople — Interview with Grand

Vizier — Welcome by Sofia Jewry — Visit to London — Talks with Sir Samuel Montagu, Goldsmid, and others — Public meeting in East End of London — Discussion with *Hovevei Zion* — Interview with Baron Edmond de Rothschild.

VIII. *Travails of Organization*

126

Talk with Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria — Financial proposals for Sultan — Visit to German military maneuvers — Complaints of Baron de Rothschild — Tension between Herzl and his editors — Talk with Turkish Ambassador — Renewed offer from Count Badeni — Public meeting in Vienna — Organizing Zionism in Austria — David Wolffsohn — Relations with Zionists in Germany — Menahem Ussishkin — Visitors from Palestine — Güdemann's change of front — Preparations for a Congress — Difficulties of organization — Sidney Whitman — *Die Welt* — Dispute with Benedikt — The "Protest Rabbis."

IX. *The First Two Congresses*

151

Herzl in Basle — The First Zionist Congress — The Basle Program — Founding of Zionist Organization — Herzl elected President — The delegates from Russia — Ahad Ha-am's opposition — Prophecy of Jewish State — Reactions in press and Papal circles — Planning creation of a bank — Efforts to reach the Kaiser — Production of *Das Neue Ghetto* — Visit to Berlin — Proposed transfer of Presidency to Nordau — Spread of movement — Federations in England and America — Decisions of conference in Vienna — Renewed efforts to reach Kaiser — Efforts to found bank — Second Congress — Decision to establish Jewish Colonial Trust.

X. *Mission to Palestine*

177

Interview with Grand Duke of Baden — First meeting with Bülow — Invitation from the Kaiser — Bank discussions in London — Mass meeting in Whitechapel — Interview with Eulenburg — Interviews with Grand Duke of Baden and Chancellor Hohenlohe — Return to Vienna — Selecting deputation for Palestine — Visit to Constantinople — Audience with Kaiser — Visit to Palestine — Arrival in Jerusalem — Reception of deputation by Kaiser — Return to Europe — Explanations of Kaiser's change of front — Bülow's falsification of history.

XI. *The Quest for a Charter*

203

Attempt to approach the Tsar — The Nuncio in Vienna — Difficulties about the bank — Visit to Grand Duke of Baden — Renewed effort to reach Kaiser — Jewish Colonial Trust registered — Death of Newlinsky — Bank conference in Cologne — Sir Ashmead Bartlett — Peace conference at The Hague — W. T. Stead — Meeting with Ivan Bloch — Nouri Bey — Visits to Paris and London — Allotment of J. C. T. shares — Interview with Grand Duke of Hesse — The Third Congress — Renewed attempt to approach Tsar — Resumption of playwriting — Position on *Neue Freie Presse* improved — Talk with Ambassador Straus — Interview with Premier Koerber — Visits to Karlsruhe, Paris, and London — Poet Laureate Austin — Return to Vienna — Friendship with Vambery — Jewish refugees from Rumania — The Congress in London.

XII. *Negotiations with the Sultan*

230

Sympathy of English parliamentarians — Proposed loan for Sultan — Renewed offer from Koerber — Visits to Paris and London — Prohibition of immigration into Palestine — Proposed removal to London — Vambery's visit to Constantinople — Herzl with Wolffsohn and Marmorek in Constantinople — Audience with Sultan — Proposed liquidation of Ottoman Public Debt — Bribery and baksheesh — Negotiations with Sultan's secretaries for Charter — Return to Vienna — Dejection in Paris — Seeking finance in London — Proposed formation of Ottoman Jewish Company — Effort to interest Cecil Rhodes — Futile letters to Sultan — The Fifth Congress — Jewish National Fund.

XIII. *Yildiz Kiosk and New Court*

256

Herzl's fourth visit to Constantinople — Negotiations with Sultan's secretaries — Offer of three concessions — Proposed restricted immigration into Ottoman territory — Three letters of credit — Talks with Turkish Ambassador in Vienna — Proposed establishment of University in Jerusalem — Death of Jacob Herzl — First interview with Lord Rothschild — Appearance before Royal Commission on Alien Immigration — Proposed Jewish settlement in British territory — Herzl's fifth visit to Constantinople — Interviews with Grand Vizier — Publication of *Altneuland* — Vision of a future Palestine — Criticism by Ahad Ha-am.

XIV. *Sinai Peninsula Plan*

285

Interview with Joseph Chamberlain at Colonial Office — Proposed settlement in Sinai Peninsula — Interview with Lord Lansdowne at Foreign Office — Recuperation at Edlach — Greenberg's report on visit to Egypt — Lansdowne's report on Cromer's views — Discussions with Lord Rothschild in London — Selection of expedition for investigation — Expectations from Jewish Colonization Association — Greenberg's reports from Egypt — Differences between Herzl and Greenberg — Herzl's interview with Cromer in Cairo — With the Rothschilds in Paris — Further interview with Chamberlain — Meeting with I.C.A. Directors in Paris — Refusal of concession by Egyptian Government.

XV. *Mission to Russia*

302

The Kishineff pogrom — Herzl's request for audience with Tsar — The question of Mozambique — Visit to St. Petersburg — Interview with Plehve — Three specific promises — Visit to General Kireyev — Interview with Witte — Second interview with Plehve — Russian Government in favor of Jewish State — Talk with Von Hartwig — Herzl leaves St. Petersburg disappointed — Enthusiastic welcome in Vilna.

XVI. *The East Africa Offer*

320

British Government's offer — Sixth Congress — The delegation from Russia — Herzl's inaugural address — Nordau's support — A passionate debate — Resolution for expedition of inquiry — Addresses by Franz Oppenheimer, Zangwill, Montefiore, and Sokolow — A hypothetical speech — Efforts to secure intervention in Constantinople by Russia, Germany, and Austria — Opposition by Ussishkin to East Africa scheme — The Kharkov Conference — Ultimatum to Herzl — Doubts about East Africa — Attempt on Nordau — Russian delegation in Vienna.

XVII. *The Closing Phase*

346

Herzl in Rome — Interview with Papal Secretary — Interview with King of Italy — Audience with the Pope — Talk with Italian Foreign Minister — Correspondence with Greenberg about East Africa — A fantastic plan — Conference in Vienna — Resolution of conciliation — Correspondence with Jacob Schiff — Interview

with Foreign Minister Goluchowski — Recuperating at Franzensbad — Visit of Katzenelsohn — Removal to Edlach — Pneumonia — The passing of Herzl — His last will.

XVIII. *Epilogue*

366

Herzl's claim to immortality — His forerunners — The first Jewish statesman — His physical qualities — Tributes by artists — His intellectual gifts — Eulogies by eminent contemporaries — Herzl's industry and epoch-making influence — His homecoming to Israel.

Bibliography

381

Index

385

Illustrations

The illustrations appear as a group after page 128

Theodor Herzl (with autograph)

Julie Naschauer as Herzl's bride

Herzl's study

Conference for the founding of *Die Welt*

Herzl with a Zionist delegation sailing to Palestine

Herzl with journalists at the Sixth Zionist Congress

The last photograph

Facsimile of Herzl's last letter to his mother

Herzl's funeral

Herzl's tomb in Vienna

Herzl's widow

The homecoming of Herzl



THEODOR HERZL
FOUNDER OF POLITICAL ZIONISM



I

Childhood and Youth

THE FOUNDER OF POLITICAL ZIONISM, THEODOR HERZL, WAS born in Budapest on May 2, 1860. He was the only son of well-to-do, middle-class parents, who also had a daughter, Pauline, a year older, but they were in no way distinguished from the tens of thousands of members of the Jewish community in the Hungarian capital. Exemplary and estimable as Jacob and Jeanette Herzl were as parents, they neither possessed any outstanding intellectual qualities nor displayed any special interest in Jewish questions that could possibly have suggested that they had brought into the world a child who was destined to influence history as the spiritual father of the State of Israel. They led a quiet and comfortable life, enjoying the affection of friends and the respect of neighbors, but without evincing any particular concern in affairs beyond their social and communal circle.

Jacob Herzl was born at Semlin, in Croatia, where his forefathers had been settled for about a couple of centuries. He was still a boy when he entered the business of his uncle, Philip Fleischel, in Debreczin, and he remained with him until, at the age of twenty-one, he left for Budapest (or rather Pest, as it was called until 1872, when Buda and Pest were united into one municipality). There he established a transport and commission agency, which prospered so rapidly that in 1857, when he was only twenty-two, he married the daughter of a wealthy clothier, Wolf Herman Diamant, who was popular in the community as a man of

worldly wisdom and wit. These qualities were inherited by Jeanette Diamant, who combined with them exceptional beauty in a city well endowed with handsome women, and she, in turn, transmitted both her physical charms and mental gifts to her children. It was probably his mother rather than his father who exercised the greater influence upon Theodor, as the father was often away on business and the mother was thus primarily responsible for the boy's education in his early years. On the other hand, it was Jacob Herzl who set the tone and maintained the standard of religious observance in the home. He had received a thorough Hebrew education in his boyhood and continued a measure of the orthodoxy in which he had been brought up himself. This was by no means superficial, as his father Simon, who was born in 1794, was married to the daughter of the Rabbi of Semlin, Rebecca Bilitz, of Sephardi stock.

Simon Herzl gave proof of his piety and devotion not only by a meticulous conformity with ritual laws and customs throughout the year, but above all by insisting on sounding the *Shofar* (ram's horn) on New Year's Day and reading the *Kol Nidre*¹ service on the evening of the Day of Atonement. His strict attachment to Judaism was in striking contrast to the laxity of his two brothers, who deserted the faith of their forefathers. He seemed to have been the last repository of a tradition that the Herzl family was descended from one of two brothers named Loebel, who had lived in Spain in the fifteenth century and had been forced by the Inquisition to renounce their religion and enter a monastic order.² These Marrano brothers were believed to have been entrusted

¹ "All vows," the introductory prayer of the evening service.

² "Herzl" is a Germanized equivalent of "Loebel," which is a transliteration (with a local vocalization) of the Hebrew word *Lev* ("heart"), the additional "l" conveying a note of affection.

later with a secret mission to a foreign land, which enabled them to reach Turkey, where they were welcomed back to the Jewish fold. Although this romantic story lacks documentary support, it is not improbable that an ancestor of the founder of political Zionism did indeed escape from the fangs of the Spanish Inquisition to Turkey, from where he or his descendants migrated to Croatia.

2

Theodor Herzl was born in the Tabak Gasse, an unpretentious street in the Jewish quarter of Budapest, not far from the Great Synagogue, where the Rabbi, thirty-six years later, vehemently denounced his advocacy of a Jewish State. His first private teacher, who began coming to the house in 1865, was a student, Adolf Iricz, who afterward became a well-known lawyer. Both Theodor and his sister made good progress in their lessons, which were at first limited to an hour a day so that more time might be given to walks; and when their mother went for a stroll with her handsome children, they were always the object of flattering compliments. The boy, who was called in the family circle "Dori," particularly attracted the admiring attention of female friends. He was always well dressed and of a lively disposition, and his mother set him a constant example of good breeding and graceful deportment. He usually accompanied his father to the synagogue on Sabbaths and festivals, and he was initiated, at the rather early age of eight, into membership of the *Hevra Kadisha* ("Holy Society"), which was devoted to the care of the sick and the burial of the dead. The ceremony of initiation, at which he made a promise of lifelong loyalty to the Jewish faith and was acclaimed by those present as "our brother," must have made a deep impression

upon him, but it did not entail any practical duties in the case of one so young.

Theodor's systematic education began at a Jewish preparatory school, where he enjoyed some prestige as the son of well-to-do parents. The principal recollection of it that he retained in his later life was that he was caned for not knowing the details of the exodus of the Jews from Egypt, an experience that prompted him to make the sardonic comment that "now many schoolmasters would like to thrash me because I remember that exodus too well." At the age of ten he entered a *Realschule*, where most emphasis was laid upon modern subjects, in contrast to a *Gymnasium*, where the curriculum was devoted mainly to classical languages. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 made Lesseps the hero of the day. Young Theodor also worshipped him, and his boyish imagination was fired with the idea of cutting through the other famous isthmus, that of Panama. But, as he wrote in later years, he soon lost his liking for logarithms and trigonometry because the atmosphere at the school was vitiated by the venom of anti-Semitism. It was symptomatic of the mentality of one of his teachers that he explained the word "heathens" as "comprising idolators, Mohammedans, and Jews." After this outrageous insult Theodor had enough of the modern school and transferred to a *Gymnasium*, where Jewish boys were in the majority. It was his first experience of the race-hatred that impelled him twenty years later to launch his epoch-making movement.

In accordance with the requirements of orthodox Judaism, he was taught the Hebrew language and the principles and precepts of the Jewish faith by a private tutor. On reaching his thirteenth birthday, he celebrated that important anniversary in Jewish life by the confirmation ceremony of *Bar-Mitzvah* ("Son of the Commandment"), when he was

called up to the reading of the Law in the synagogue on the Sabbath morning and cantillated a portion in the traditional melody. There followed the customary party at home, where, in the presence of relatives and friends, he made a short speech, in which he thanked his parents for the education that he had received and promised that he would always remain faithful to his religion. Thereupon Rabbi Meisel, the spiritual leader of the congregation, placed his hands upon the boy's head and pronounced the priestly blessing. It was usual in most cultured Jewish families in Central and Western Europe for a boy to cease his Hebrew studies after his confirmation, and there is no reason to suppose that young Herzl was an exception, although he is said to have continued to study Jewish history.

His school-fellows recalled him as a dark, slim boy, always pleasant and ready to indulge in practical jokes and pranks. He had the reputation of not being a diligent pupil, as he generally came to the class unprepared, but he invariably managed to scrape out of a difficulty with the aid of an excellent memory and alert intelligence.³ He also gave evidence at an early age of organizing initiative and literary ability, for, when only fourteen, he founded a school literary society, of which he was the chairman, and the rules and by-laws of which have been preserved.⁴ The object of this society was to stimulate its members to write stories and poems, which they read at its meetings; and young Herzl, as the society's minutes record, contributed a goodly number, several of a humorous character. He also wrote a whimsical sketch of the Hungarian Parliament, which appeared in the Vienna weekly, *Leben*, and several of his book reviews and dramatic notices were published in the *Pester*

³ Leon Kellner, *Theodor Herzls Lehrjahre*, p. 16.

⁴ Adolf Friedemann, *Das Leben Theodor Herzls*, pp. 123-127.

Journal. It became clear, while he was still at school, that he wanted to become a writer—a German writer—an ambition with which his parents fully sympathized. That he was not attracted to the Hungarian language was due to the fact that Pest at that time still had a German character, that the Jewish population spoke and wrote German, and that education was synonymous with German education. Indeed, the Jews in Hungary, as throughout Central Europe north of the Danube, were the unconscious vanguard of the German language and culture, and, however incredible it may now appear, Theodor then felt himself thoroughly Teutonic.

3

There were, however, times when this lover of German literature came into contact with a totally different mental outlook, namely, when his grandfather Simon from Semlin, that sturdy pillar of orthodox Judaism, came to Pest on an annual visit or on some special occasion, such as Theodor's *Bar-Mitzvah*. For old Simon belonged to another world, in which Jews were more immersed in Rabbinic lore than in the German classics and thought more of the restoration of Zion than of cultural assimilation. The Rabbi of Semlin was then Jehuda Hai Alkalai, a zealous advocate of the return of the Jews to their ancestral land, who wrote learned monographs and undertook distant journeys in furtherance of the idea until the end of his long life. He traveled to many cities, including Vienna, Berlin, Paris, and even London, where, in 1852, he founded a society in support of his purpose, which, however, was short-lived. It would have been only natural that, on returning to Semlin from his various missions, Rabbi Alkalai should have related his adventures to the pious graybeards of his flock, especially in the syna-

gogue on the Sabbath afternoon, when waiting in the gloaming for the termination of the holy day. And what more probable but that Simon Herzl, one of his devoted congregants, should have spoken of these journeys and aspirations of Rabbi Alkalai when he visited his son's home in Pest and fervently indulged in the hope that the Rabbi's efforts would be blessed with success? It was in 1874 that Alkalai eventually went to settle and die in Jerusalem, and if Simon Herzl went to Budapest in the same year he would doubtless have mentioned that notable event in the family circle. Young Theodor was then fourteen and would probably have been an interested listener. Whether he, indeed, paid attention to his grandfather's talk and thus received the first stimulus toward the course along which he struck out twenty years later can be only a matter of conjecture. He makes no reference to it in his Diaries or articles in which he afterward traced the growth in his mind of the idea of the necessity of Jewish national independence, but this does not rule out the possibility that some words of the old pietist may have sunk deep into his subconsciousness.

In 1878, the Herzl family suffered a grievous bereavement in the death of Pauline, a charming and gifted girl of nineteen, who was struck down by typhoid. Both parents and brother were inconsolable, for they had been linked together by a strong bond of love. During the week of mourning the family were visited by Rabbi Kohn, who asked Theodor what his plans were for the future, and when the latter replied that he wished to become a writer the Rabbi shook his head disapprovingly and said that "authorship is no proper profession." To continue living in their home and in Budapest would have involved a constant reminder of their loss and perhaps have affected Theodor's concentration on his studies. He had now finished with school and was

looking forward to entering the University, and since he preferred German to Magyar culture and the thought of a literary career was dominant at the back of his mind, the decision was taken that the family should move to Vienna. Theodor, who had always looked up to his sister and confided in her, missed her companionship acutely. He kept various souvenirs of her, and on many an anniversary of her death he traveled to Budapest to visit the cemetery where she had been laid to rest and took away some flowers from the grave to his parents in Vienna.

II

Student Years

IN THE AUTUMN OF 1878, THEODOR HERZL ENTERED THE LAW Faculty of Vienna University, where he studied various branches of jurisprudence. He also attended lectures on history and economics, and, for a short time, on natural science, too. But his main attention was devoted to law, with a partiality for Roman law, as was evident later in his epoch-making brochure, *The Jewish State*. He sat at the feet of many professors, but none can be said to have exercised any influence upon him, probably because he was never really enthusiastic about the subjects on which they discoursed. He undertook their study primarily as a concession to his parents, so that he could eventually have a secure source of livelihood to fall back upon in case he failed to succeed as a writer. But it was a literary career that formed his ambition, and his studies were constantly accompanied and in no small degree hampered by his persistent efforts to win a name for himself as a journalist and a playwright.

The life of a student in Vienna in the closing decades of the nineteenth century was rather roisterous owing to racial and nationalist conflicts, which often erupted into violent manifestations. The university world was a faithful mirror of the political complexity of the capital of what was then a large and polyracial empire, and the students' unions were likewise variegated—some animated by a liberal outlook, others representing different shades of German chauvinism, and still others aggressively anti-Semitic. The majority of

the Jewish students, eager to identify themselves with the dominant political parties, were to be found in almost all these student groups, but, after provocative speeches followed by rowdy scenes, they were gradually expelled from those that were not genuinely liberal. Herzl at first joined the *Akademische Lesehalle* (Academic Reading Room), which had about a thousand members, many of them fervid German nationalists, and took an active part in its life. He was an assiduous reader in the library, in order to satisfy his hunger for knowledge, and a frequent contributor to its Book of Suggestions, but he shone above all at the social evenings of the *Lesehalle*, at which he often presided. On these occasions, it was customary, as the members sat at long tables with their mugs of beer before them, for those with literary talent to recite original verse compositions, generally spiced with local allusions. Herzl became popular on account of his poetical fertility and gaiety of wit, and one evening recited a humorous ballad of twenty-five strophes describing the merry life of monks in medieval Sicily. But unfortunately, political speeches were also delivered from time to time, and after an address by Georg von Schoenerer, a leading pan-German anti-Semitic member of the Reichstag, in March, 1881, there was such an uproar that the *Akademische Lesehalle* was closed by the authorities.

Shortly afterward, Herzl joined the students' union called *Albia*. It consisted of two main sections, "progressives" and "conservatives," with a large element of German nationalists and Austrian imperialists. Herzl was said to have been attracted to the *Albia* partly by the glamorous hue of the colored caps and ribbons worn by the members at official functions, but he was probably drawn to it more by his friendship for several members, although there were only two other Jews in the fraternity besides himself. Owing to

the constant wrangling about political questions, the students developed a high degree of sensitiveness and were quick to seize upon any remark in their hearing that they considered a reflection upon their honor. Such an affront could be avenged only by a duel, and duels were fought mostly with swords. Members of the *Albia* were therefore expected to devote a good part of their time to fencing, at least two periods of two hours each per day, besides having a special course under an instructor; and they all had to fight at least one duel to maintain their corporate honor. Herzl fought his duel on May 11, 1881, with a member of the students' union *Allemania*, and both retired with gashed cheeks, which a surgeon in readiness promptly stitched. After this "satisfaction of honor," Herzl was applauded at the "beer evening" for which the members of the *Albia* assembled later.

Students of the German nationalist party gradually began to predominate in the *Albia*, with the inevitable result that there was an increasing discussion of the Jewish question. The effect of this was not only to arouse in Herzl a keener sense of his Jewish consciousness but also to provoke in him a feeling of resentment at the gibes and pinpricks that were all too manifest. The fact that his fellow students did not regard him as belonging to the same people as themselves was shown by the nickname which, in accordance with the society's customs, they chose for him. They called him "Tancred," after the knight who was the hero of the First Crusade that attempted the conquest of Jerusalem, as well as "Prince of Galilee" and "Duke of Antioch." Before long, he felt a growing coolness toward him on the part of both the Jews who coquetted with Germanism and of the German nationalists themselves, and it was in this frame of mind that he read two books that made a powerful impression upon

him. One was a historical novel, *The Jews of Cologne*, by Wilhelm Jensen, who gave a depressing account of the conditions of the Jewish community in that city in the fourteenth century and of the burning of the Ghetto.

2

The other was a book entitled *The Jewish Question as a Racial, Moral, and Cultural Question*, by Eugen Dühring, which appeared in 1881. Dühring, who had previously been a lecturer on economics and philosophy at Berlin University, quarreled so often with other members of the staff that he was compelled to resign, and he then became one of the founders of modern racial anti-Semitism. His book was a vitriolic diatribe against the Jewish people, full of malicious travesties and vile calumnies; it advocated that they should be deprived of all rights and relegated to the state of degradation in which they had been kept in the Middle Ages.

The reading of this work, in February, 1882, had such a provocative effect upon Herzl that he gave indignant and voluble expression to his views in his notebook.¹ He felt all the more annoyed because it was so well written, as he acknowledged, that it was hard to believe it was the product of "the poisoned pen of personal vindictiveness." He discussed and refuted the various charges made against the Jews in the Middle Ages and rehashed by Dühring, pointing out that whatever faults or unlikable qualities they had developed were the result of the prolonged persecution to which they had been subjected. "How could such a base, untalented race have been able to preserve itself so long through fifteen centuries of inhuman oppression," he asked, "if it did not possess anything good?" He accused Dühring of following

¹ Leon Kellner, *Theodor Herzls Lehrjahre*, pp. 127 seq.

up every half-true statement with a tissue of mendacious allegations, and stigmatized his so-called solution of the Jewish question as simply "a reintroduction of the Ghetto." He concluded his denunciation by describing Dühring as "a hypocrite, an evil scoundrel," who demanded unrestricted freedom for all people but an "exceptional law" for the Jews. It was from the moment he read this work, as he afterward wrote in his Diary thirteen years later, that he first began to concern himself seriously with the Jewish question.²

A year later he was compelled to pass from reflection to action. On March 5, 1883, a meeting was held under the auspices of a German fraternity, with the cooperation of the *Albia*, to pay tribute to the memory of Richard Wagner, who had died a few weeks before. The principal speech was delivered by a twenty-year-old student, Hermann Bahr, who later became famous as an author and playwright; but, instead of speaking on Wagner as a musician, he chose to expound and advocate his views as an anti-Semite, and he did so with so much vigor and amid such vociferous applause that the gathering turned into an anti-Jewish demonstration. The police had to intervene, the meeting was stopped, and Bahr was rebuked by the University Senate. Herzl was not present, but when he read a report of the meeting in the press and noted that no protest had been made by the responsible leaders of *Albia*, he decided to send in his resignation. In his letter he wrote that he was apparently disqualified for continued membership as he was tainted with "Semitism," a word that, he observed, was unknown when he joined, and he therefore asked for his "honorable discharge." The reply that he received rebuked him for showing a lack of respect in his letter and informed him that his request for "honorable discharge" could not be granted,

² *Tagebücher*, vol. I, p. 4.

but that he had been expelled. A few days later, however, the committee had second thoughts and agreed to accept his resignation. Thereupon Herzl returned the colored gewgaws of membership and his drinking mug. He had had enough of the students' fraternities and joined no other. He had emerged from the *Albia* purged, with a more robust Jewish consciousness than he had on joining it, and also with greater ability to give cogent expression to his views.

By a curious quirk of fate, the young student whose speech had been responsible for this development in Herzl's mind became his friend in later years, when his intelligence had matured sufficiently to slough his anti-Jewish prejudices. And twenty-five years after Herzl's death, Hermann Bahr contributed to an American Zionist publication ³ a laudatory tribute to the memory of the Zionist leader, in which he wrote:

In those far-off days, when I entered the University of Vienna to take up the study of the classics, Theodor Herzl was already the pride and glory of the Burschenschaft (fraternity), of which I became an impertinent *Fuchs* (junior member). Even in those early days the charm and magic which in his maturity were to conquer thousands were already manifest; it was not only by his appearance that he dominated his fellow-students—his gallant nature, his ironic, superior spirit, his easy masterfulness were irresistible.

After Herzl's resignation, *Albia* decided not to admit any more Jews, although those who were already members were allowed to remain. This decision was made on the proposal of a prominent member, Paul von Portheim, who was of Jewish extraction himself; but the fear that he might eventually also be compelled to leave preyed upon his mind to such a degree that he committed suicide in July, 1883.

³ *Theodor Herzl: A Memorial*, edited by M. W. Weisgal.

3

The shock of his breach with *Albia* was felt by Herzl all the more painfully because of the futile efforts he had been making to secure recognition as a writer and the repeated disappointments he had to bear. Despite his legal studies, he began in 1880 to write feuilletons—sketches in a light and whimsical vein—which formed a regular feature of all the leading papers in Central Europe, but only to have them rejected time after time. In February, 1882, he entered a competition for a prize offered by the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, but without success; and in the following September he competed for a prize offered by this paper for the best story, with a similar barren result. On his twenty-second birthday, he wrote in his Diary that he had not even the smallest success to show; but a couple of days later he at last had a contribution published in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*. He also tried his hand at writing plays, in which he had dabbled while still at school. In December, 1882, he offered a short one-act comedy, entitled *Die Causa Hirschhorn* ("The Hirschhorn Case"), to Ernst Hartmann, a leading actor at the Burg Theatre, the principal playhouse in Vienna; but Hartmann merely responded with a letter, which, though written in friendly terms, did not even hold out the prospect that the play would be read. Then followed the rejection of one manuscript after another by the *Wiener Allgemeine* and the *Pester Lloyd* almost throughout 1883, plunging Herzl into a state of depression from which an amateur production of his comedy afforded little relief. He had an intimate friend at the time, a fellow-student named Heinrich Kana, the son of poor Jewish parents from Rumania, who was fired by similar literary ambitions but also suffered from similar disappointments. They confided

in one another all their strivings, hopes, and failures, and encouraged one another to persist. But Kana did not possess Herzl's doggedness and determination to win through, nor his talents, and he broke down in the struggle.

In July, 1883, Herzl passed the final law examination, not with distinction—as his doting parents had expected—but by a vote of the majority of the examiners. Kana had circulated the story that Herzl had received the unanimous approbation of the examiners, only to bring upon himself a withering rebuke from Herzl, who would not tolerate any form of deception. Herzl's father, however, was delighted at the result of the examination and gave him money for a holiday abroad, so that he might recover from the strain of his studies. Theodor went to Lucerne, from where, after a fortnight, he wrote to Kana that his money had shrunk to two and a half francs; but a couple of days later he sent his friend a note saying that he had received a further remittance from "a charming old man."

After his return home in September, 1883, Herzl again entered a competition of the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* for the best feuilleton, but with no better result than in previous contests. He did not receive even an honorable mention. He therefore began to think of abandoning the plan of pursuing a literary career, with all its uncertainties and disappointments, and of reconciling himself to a more reliable, though more humdrum, form of livelihood. In May, 1884, he was awarded the degree of *Doctor juris* (Doctor of Law), and his parents evinced their pleasure by giving him money again to travel abroad. This time he went to Paris, where he saw Sarah Bernhardt in a gala performance, and Coquelin, too; heard Renan lecture on the Psalms to a class of ten students; and witnessed some trials in the law courts as well as debates in the Chamber of Deputies. He described his impressions

and experiences in letters to his parents, which were marked by refreshing candor and pungent humor.

Two months later, he was admitted to the bar in the *Landesgericht* (Supreme Court) in Vienna, where he practiced in penal cases until the end of the year. He next practiced in the Commercial Court until April, 1885, and then, for a few months, in civil cases in the *Landesgericht*. At the end of this period, he received a testimonial from the President of the latter court, praising his abilities and his impeccable demeanor. In the spring of 1885, Jacob Herzl was afflicted with an ear complaint and went to Hall, in Upper Austria, in search of a cure. Theodor therefore transferred the scene of his professional activity to Salzburg, obtained accommodation for his parents in the vicinity, and visited them as often as possible. He practiced at Salzburg for seven weeks in all, with distinguished success, and in later years often recalled the time that he had spent in that charming city as one of the happiest periods of his life. Yet it was during that period that he gave evidence of an irritable and querulous mood, as though spoiling for a fight. He issued a challenge to a duel on two occasions—first to a fellow lawyer and then to the secretary of the Vienna Stock Exchange—for some presumed affront; but, happily, both challenges were rejected.

After practicing at the bar for about a year, Herzl decided to abandon it. The vocation was too dull and disciplined to satisfy one with such a restless and creative mind; and, besides, he felt sure that, owing to the prevailing anti-Semitism, he stood no chance of ever being promoted to a judicial position. He therefore resolved to try his fortune again with his pen.

III

Journalist and Playwright

INSPIRED BY A NEW INCENTIVE AND EXERTING HIMSELF TO A finer effort than any before, Herzl again entered for a prize offered by the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* for the best feuilleton. This time he achieved the coveted result. He regarded it as his first notable success and as a turning point in his literary career. He was now full of hope and was even seized with the ambition to collaborate on a play with Paul Lindau, a popular dramatist and one of the most brilliant journalists of his day; but, although his proposal was declined, Herzl was by no means discouraged. He went to Heidelberg for a holiday, and then to Belgium and Holland, to study the works of the Flemish and Dutch painters, returning home in September, 1885, in a buoyant mood.

In the following November, he went to Berlin to seek his fortune as a dramatist. He had a letter from Professor Adam Politzer, the famous ear specialist, to Siegwart Friedmann, a leading actor, as well as an introduction from his father, which brought him into contact with literary and dramatic circles. He took three plays with him but was unable to get any of them accepted. The disappointment caused by this failure, however, was dispelled by the striking success obtained by one of these plays in New York. It was entitled *Tabarin*, dealing with a well-known jester who lived in the days of Cardinal Richelieu and whose tragic fate provided the plot of Leoncavallo's *Bajazzo*. The glowing cablegrams about its production in America made an impression upon editors in

Germany and Austria, who now became eager to receive Herzl's contributions. He therefore wrote frequently from Berlin for the Vienna humorous weekly, *Der Floh*, the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, and the *Presse*. The editor of the *Wiener Tagblatt*, Moritz Szeps, wanted him to become a regular outside contributor to his paper, but Herzl declined the invitation as he wished to be appointed on the staff. Heinrich Friedjung, the famous editor of the *Deutsche Zeitung*, was also eager to publish his feuilletons, but, out of regard for the anti-Semitic financiers of his journal, suggested that Herzl should adopt a non-Jewish pseudonym. Herzl indignantly rejected the proposal, whereupon Friedjung agreed to print an article of his under his real name.

At the end of June, 1886, Herzl again went to Paris, and, after visiting various cities in Normandy, spent some time in Trouville, which he called "the most delightful place imaginable," and from where he sent several articles to the *Presse*. He appears to have been thoroughly satisfied with the experiences that he had on this journey, as he wrote that he had seen "a great bit of the world and a bit of the great world." In October, he was back again in Berlin for a fortnight, and tried to place another play, *Seine Hoheit* ("His Highness"), a satirical comedy about the power of money, but without success. On the other hand, he received much encouragement from Dr. Arthur Levysohn, the editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, who invited him to write from Vienna a weekly survey of events, leaving him free to comment on happenings in any part of the world; and, at the same time, he did very well as a contributor to the Hamburg humorous weekly, *Lustige Blätter*. He was nevertheless not content with his progress. He had already given evidence of an individual style, of a creative imagination, and of a

sensitive responsiveness to the moods of nature and the beauties of landscape, but his achievements lagged behind his ambition. He was always thinking out characters and devising plots, a habit that continued long after he found himself in the hurly-burly of Zionist politics. Even on the eve of the Third Zionist Congress (in August, 1899), he wrote in his Diary:

All these days I am occupied by the plot of my new play *The Sinful Mother*, which fascinates me, even more than by my still unfinished Congress speech and the Congress and the Princes and my slave-holders of the *Neue Freie Presse*.

In the last week of January, 1887, Herzl wrote *Der Flüchtling* ("The Fugitive"), a one-act play, which he sent (as he had done with an earlier play in 1882) to Ernst Hartmann, of the Burg Theatre, the principal playhouse in Vienna. The latter criticized it on the ground that the characters in it were "caricatures." In his letter to Herzl he wrote: "Study more from life itself than in the world pictured by your imagination. Apparently you doubtless have talent, inventiveness, everything one needs, but you must treat humanity somewhat more respectfully and seriously, and look at it more closely if you want to create something real." Herzl was deeply hurt by this letter, which he considered unjust, and gave vent to his resentment against theatre managers in a sequence of forty "aphorisms" included in his *Buch der Narrheit* ("Book of Folly"), of which the following are examples:

If a theatre manager promises something and afterward still keeps it, then one should sink on one's knee before him and kiss the hem of his garment with grateful fervor.

The public will let itself be bored only by celebrated people.

The actor despises the dramatist, the dramatist despises the

spectator, the spectator despises the actor. Thus each one gets his deserts.

Herzl's mother, noting his mood of depression, suggested that he should take a holiday in Italy, where so many writers and artists had found their first inspiration. His father demurred for a moment, as it meant advancing the expense, but soon acquiesced with the remark: "You will easily more than recoup the few hundred *gulden* later." Theodor embraced his mother, kissed his father, and (in the words of his mother) romped about in the room like a schoolboy. Fortunately, Jacob Herzl was a man of means. Although he had lost his entire fortune in a depression, when Theodor was only thirteen, within a few years he had made another.

Herzl spent six weeks in Italy, from the middle of February, and wrote to his parents briefly every day, in accordance with the practice that he adopted from his first journey to a foreign country. On that occasion his mother said to him: "Write us every day just a few lines, to let us know how you are; but whatever experience you may have worth describing belongs to the world." This maternal injunction was faithfully observed until the end. He first went to Venice, next to Pisa and Leghorn, and then to Rome, where he stayed a week and wrote several travel sketches. From there he journeyed south to Naples and Capri, about which he wrote in the most glowing language, and then passed on to Amalfi, where he lazed on the sands. After ascending Mount Vesuvius, he traveled back to Rome, stayed four days in Florence and a few more in Bologna and Padua, and then returned to Vienna. This Italian tour gave a new stimulus to Herzl's literary activity and was regarded by some of his contemporaries as forming its real beginning. His feuilleton "Emmelfey" (a supposed tourist's pronunciation of Amalfi), in the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*; created quite a sensation

among both writers and readers in Vienna and was recalled years later with a lingering savor. The owner of the *Zeitung*, Baron Kolisch, was so enthusiastic about it that he appointed Herzl as his literary editor, but their association, begun so happily, ended after about ten weeks with Herzl's dismissal.

2

The disappointment caused by this sudden change of fortune made Herzl inclined to abandon the feuilleton altogether as a literary form that was evanescent and unrewarding, a view that was shared by Hermann Sudermann, whom he met at Capri. He thought of devoting himself entirely to the writing of novels and plays, a plan to which his parents would have had no objection, although it might have made him dependent upon them for a time; but it was this latter consideration that caused him to dismiss the idea. There were various prospects that seemed to offer themselves, such as the position of editor of a new weekly in Berlin, *Die Bühnenwelt*, and of dramatic critic of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, but neither of them materialized. The post of Paris correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* then became vacant, and Herzl was so optimistic about securing it that he tried to console his parents over their sadness at the possibility of his leaving home by stressing the importance of the position. He recalled that Heine had once been a correspondent in Paris and that de Blowitz, of *The Times*, had almost enjoyed the status of an ambassador. But this hope, too, turned to naught; whereupon, in October, 1887, Herzl offered his services to Eduard Bacher, editor and part proprietor of the *Neue Freie Presse*, then the most influential and widely read paper in Central Europe, only to receive a reply that there was no vacancy.

In the following years, however, fortune favored Herzl as a playwright. His comedy, *Seine Hoheit*, which he had been unable to place in Berlin, was accepted by the German Theatre in Prague and achieved a success beyond his expectations. He went to Prague for the production and found an influential friend in Heinrich Teweles (1856–1927), a popular writer and dramatic critic, who wrote such laudatory notices of the play for the Berlin press that it was at last produced in the German capital at the Wallner Theatre. This one dramatic triumph did more for Herzl than all the witty and brilliant causeries that he had written during the preceding seven or eight years, and he received more requests from editors for contributions than he was able to satisfy. His collected volume of causeries, however, *Neues von der Venus* ("News from Venus"), made no particular impression, apart from gaining more publicity for the writer, nor did another collection, *Das Buch der Narrheit*, achieve any other purpose. Some of the pieces were reflections on his personal experiences in matters of love and on the imagined emotions of others, while many of them mirrored the characteristics of the social life of the Austrian capital, made familiar in the novels and plays of Arthur Schnitzler. But Herzl, looking upon them as minor efforts, wanted to collaborate with Oscar Blumenthal on a drama that would be suitable for the Lessing Theatre in Berlin, which presented only plays of the highest quality. Blumenthal, however, declined. Thereupon, in May, 1888, Herzl became a member of the Vienna journalists' and authors' society, "Concordia," and when a feuilleton that he sent to the *Neue Freie Presse* was rejected by Bacher he resolved that he would yet one day be appointed on its staff.

Eager to widen his knowledge of foreign lands, he went to England for a month, after staying in Brussels for a week.

He arrived in London early in July, was deeply impressed by its vastness and the hustle and bustle everywhere, and, after a fortnight, visited Brighton, Eastbourne, Hastings, and Worthing. From there he crossed over to the Isle of Wight, found the charms of Ventnor almost equal to those of Amalfi, and witnessed the exciting spectacle of the Cowes Regatta. He described his impressions and experiences in a succession of travel sketches, which he continued after he left England for Trouville and Ostend. On his return journey, he passed through Munich, where he had a meeting with Franz Wallner, the theatre manager, and when he reached Vienna he felt thoroughly satisfied with his holiday, as in the course of it he had written a dozen feuilletons, which were published in the *Neue Freie Presse*.¹ Those were not the only things, however, that he wrote on this tour, for he also exchanged letters with his future wife, Julie Naschauer, whom he referred to as "*die kleine*."

In October, Herzl proposed to Hugo Wittmann, a popular playwright and feuilletonist, that they should collaborate on a comedy. Wittmann had already had so many collaborators that he agreed only on condition that their authorship remained anonymous. The outcome of a combination of their ideas was a comedy, *Die Wilddiebe* ("The Poachers"), which was produced at the Burg Theatre on March 19, 1889. It was a light-hearted comedy of errors, which met with great success, enhanced by the curiosity due to the anonymity. It was afterward performed at all the leading theatres in Austria and Germany, yielding a very handsome reward to the authors, whose identity was **not** disclosed until April, 1890. After this, *Der Flüchtling*, which had been previously

¹ Herzl's first article on social life in England appeared in the *Neue Freie Presse* of July 27, 1888. Four articles written on later visits to England, between 1895 and 1903, are included in Volume I of his *Feuilletons*.

offered to many theatres in vain, was at last accepted by the Burg Theatre, where it was produced in May with success. Thereupon followed Herzl's appointment as feuilleton editor of the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung* and critic at the Burg Theatre, but he did not retain the position long, apparently owing to differences with his colleagues.

3

Despite this minor setback, Herzl had now established a sufficiently recognized position in the literary and dramatic world to justify his desire to get married. While still a student, he had been a frequent visitor at the house of Jacob Naschauer, a wealthy businessman in Vienna, whose wife, Jenny Kolinsky, had been known for her beauty. The Naschauers had five children, of whom the fourth, a daughter, Julie, was born on February 1, 1869. She was described by her contemporaries as a golden-haired, blue-eyed girl, and she had a strong attraction for Herzl which proved mutual. She occupied his thoughts increasingly from 1886, and there are numerous references in his travel diaries during the next couple of years to letters that he received from her. They were married on July 25, 1889, at Reichenau, a fashionable health resort, and spent their honeymoon in France, visiting most of the places where Herzl had been before in quest of intellectual adventure and inspiration.

Unfortunately, the first plays that Herzl wrote after his marriage met with scant success. A comedy, *Der Bernhardiner* (the title of which was afterward changed to "*What Will One Say?*"), was refused by the Burg Theatre in October, 1889; and when it was produced in Prague in March, 1890, and later in Berlin, in the following October, it was received by the audience with tepid applause and was slated

by the critics. There was compensating happiness, however, in the birth of his first child, Pauline, which occurred on March 29, 1890, and which aroused in him emotions and reflections to which he gave moving expression in a feuilleton. This added responsibility spurred him on to a further effort. In collaboration again with Wittmann, he wrote *Die Dame in Schwarz* ("The Lady in Black"), which was performed at the Burg Theatre by its most distinguished cast, including the famous Adolf Sonnenthal, but the applause was mingled with unmistakable marks of disapproval and the play was handled severely by the critics. Herzl's next piece of work, to which he devoted himself in the summer of 1890 at Reichenau, proved more successful. It was a libretto for an opera entitled *Des Teufels Weib* ("The Devil's Wife"), for which he was given a commission. It was freely based on a French piece (*Madame le Diable*), the music was composed by Adolf Müller, and it had a run of sixty performances. Other plays of Herzl that were produced at the Burg Theatre, as well as in Berlin and other cities, were *Solon in Lydia* and *Gretel*, and the comedies *I Love You* and *Kätschen*.

The worries to which he was subjected by his ceaseless wrangles with theatre managers, actors, and critics, as well as by the caprices of the playgoers, began to tell upon his nerves, and early in 1891 these professional annoyances were aggravated by the sudden and violent death of his most intimate friend, Heinrich Kana. They had embarked upon a literary career at the same time, criticized one another's manuscripts with unrestrained candor, and shared all their hopes and disappointments. Even after Herzl had reason to give up his faith in Kana's critical infallibility, he remained attached to him by a bond of the warmest friendship, and when Kana went to Berlin in search of literary fame they

carried on a regular correspondence. But Kana's talents were unequal to the high standard set by his competitors; he would dally over writing a commissioned article for lack of ideas; and he was without the friends whose support or influence might have compensated for his technical shortcomings. The result was that he had a desperate struggle to earn even enough to keep himself on the most modest scale; and, after several years of a wretched existence and increasing mental depression, he decided to end his life, which he did, on February 6, 1891, with a revolver. His last message to Herzl, written on that day, was:

My good, dear Theodor, your old friend says farewell to you before he dies. I thank you for all your friendship and kindness. I wish you and your dear ones all happiness on earth. I kiss you.

Your Heinrich.

4

Herzl was profoundly shocked by this tragic loss and brooded over it for years. Indeed, the spirit of his friend still haunted him when he was thinking out the plot for a Jewish novel in 1895, nor was it exorcised until Kana found a sort of transfiguration in Herzl's Zionist romance, *Altneuland* ("Old-new-land"), which he published in 1902. The immediate effect of his friend's death upon Herzl's mind was so unnerving that he felt the need of a journey abroad to seek recuperation. Another and more serious factor that impelled him to go abroad again for some weeks was that he had not found in his marriage the happiness that he had expected. His wife had been accustomed in her parents' home to luxuries that he was unable to provide with his fluctuating earnings, and unfortunately his mother con-

tinued to manifest a possessive nature that undermined the foundations of marital happiness. He therefore went off again to Italy for peace and distraction, without any thought of exploiting the journey for literary purposes. He found Venice so cold that he hastened to Milan, where he saw the great Duse in a play at a leading theatre, and then traveled on to Nice and Monte Carlo, where he felt revived by the warm sun of early spring. By the end of February he was back again at home.

But, as the months went by, the domestic atmosphere did not improve. Herzl did his best to act as conciliator between his wife and his mother, both of whom he loved deeply, but the women were apparently unable to share with one another the love they both had for him. In June, 1891, a second child, Hans, was born, but at the beginning of August Herzl was again journeying through foreign lands, noting everywhere the peculiar features of the places through which he passed and the distinctive characteristics of the people that he met, but this time embodying his experiences and impressions in feuilletons that he sent to Vienna. He was in Paris once more for a few days, went south to Bordeaux, and then stayed for some weeks in the charming little town of Luz, within the shadow of the Pyrenees. There, in the glorious mountainous landscape, he worked on a play, took long walks of nearly two hours daily to ponder over his characters and think out situations, studied a little Spanish, and went to bed early every night. He also wrote several feuilletons, one of which, depicting the monotony of life in Luz and the foibles of its leading personalities—the blacksmith, the cobbler, and the barber—and written in a delightful vein of humor and irony, evoked the particular admiration of the editors of the *Neue Freie Presse* and of its readers. A month later he began to travel homeward, and stayed at

Biarritz and San Sebastian on the way. In Biarritz he had the agreeable experience of being introduced to the Russian Ambassador at the Spanish Court, Prince Gortschakoff, at the latter's request, by the correspondent of the *London Times* in Madrid.

At the beginning of October, he was on the point of leaving San Sebastian for the Spanish capital when he received a telegram from Dr. Bacher, offering him the position of Paris correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse*. He would receive one thousand francs² a month and eighty francs for each feuilleton, besides the reimbursement of all expenses, for a trial period of four months. The offer was made after Bacher had consulted Wittmann, who warmly recommended it. Herzl felt elated and promptly accepted. "The Paris correspondent," he wrote to his parents, "is the springboard from which I shall leap high, to your joy, my dear beloved parents."

He went straight to Paris without first returning home, and entered upon his duties at the end of the month. He took up residence at the Hotel Radstatt, in the Rue Dunon, and was joined by his wife a month later. A new chapter had opened in his life, a chapter that was the prelude to a new epoch in Jewish history.

² The franc was at that time worth about twenty cents.

IV

Correspondent in Paris

HERZL QUICKLY ADAPTED HIMSELF TO HIS NEW POSITION. HIS instructions were to write about everything of interest that happened in France, and he therefore did not confine himself to political affairs but also covered all other main aspects of French life—social and economic questions, music and drama, literature and art, even crime and court cases. As a dramatist who had already written seventeen plays, he usually attended the first performance of every new play in Paris and his views were eagerly sought both by critics and others, especially when they found that he expressed them with wit and perspicacity. On one occasion, he met the Norwegian playwright Björnson, who had come to witness the presentation of one of his pieces at the Comédie Française; on another he carried on such a long discussion in the foyer with the sculptor, Auguste Rodin, after the performance was over, that an attendant had to tell them that he wished to close the theatre.

As an author he was welcomed in literary salons and was a frequent visitor at the house of Alphonse Daudet (one of whose plays he translated into German), where he met Marcel Proust and other writers. He came into contact with both Anatole France and Emile Zola, about whose personalities and works he wrote in a spirited and entertaining style. He had long given proof of being a keen and vigilant observer: now he also became an attentive listener and developed the faculty of following a heated debate in the Chamber of

Deputies and immediately penning a concise and fluent summary. For it was an important part of his duties to watch the evolving scene in the Palais Bourbon, and he took pains to ensure that his reports were accurate as well as graphic.

He was helped in the drafting of his telegrams to the *Neue Freie Presse* by a relative and fellow writer, Joseph Siklosy, who acted as his secretary and came to him punctually at half-past seven in the morning and five in the afternoon, working with him until all the dispatches had gone off. Besides reporting on the events of the day, he found time to write feuilletons on a variety of topics—on the preparations of the engineer, Gustave Eiffel, to construct his colossal tower or a meeting of the French Academy, on the anarchist Ravachol or the taverns in the Latin Quarter—all composed in the polished manner for which he had acquired a reputation.

Herzl's work gave his editor such satisfaction that at the end of the four-month probationary period his engagement was made definite with an increased remuneration. From March, 1892, he received, besides his expenses, a monthly salary of twelve hundred francs, as well as one hundred francs for each feuilleton, which formed quite a good income for a journalist of thirty-two. His wife had joined him in November, 1891, and there was some sort of reconciliation; but this was far from complete, for not only did the lack of harmony between her and his mother continue but she failed to share his interests and to keep pace with his intellectual growth. Although born in a great city, Julie Herzl was unfortunately handicapped by a narrow provincialism, and it was in no small measure due to the gulf between her and her husband that he concentrated with increased zeal first upon his professional duties and later upon his political

mission. The main bond between them was their common love for their children. In addition to the boy and girl born in Vienna, they had another daughter, Margarete, commonly called Trude, who was born in Paris on May 20, 1893. For two and a half years the family lived at 8 Rue de Monceau, and Herzl, on his free mornings, would sometimes take the older children to the neighboring Parc Monceau. His parents, moved by strong affection, also went to live in Paris, but as they were unable to adjust themselves to the new environment they returned after a while to Vienna.

Herzl spent much of his time in the Chamber of Deputies, and the fruits of his work there consisted of a collection of feuilletons, published under the title of *Das Palais Bourbon*, which he regarded as his best book. It contains brilliant sketches of the political life in France, pen portraits of prominent personalities, descriptions of parliamentary proceedings, and psychological studies of the electoral public, which can be read with profit even now for an understanding of the conditions in the Third French Republic. He came to have a rather poor opinion of the ethical standards prevailing in the French political world of his day, in which he found much corruption, cynicism, and tuft-hunting (apart from the lingering echo of the Panama scandal). He wrote:

Whoever studies the public morals of this country discovers that every four years, at the time of the parliamentary elections, about fifteen hundred men, who seek the confidence of their fellow citizens, suffer an injury to their reputation. . . . As at the change of a government it is not a question of principles but of persons, all arts are admissible. . . . When I hear M. Goblet speak I often think: "What a pity that he can't immediately contradict himself." ¹

¹ Adolf Friedemann, *Das Leben Theodor Herzls*, p. 16.

When he first informed his parents of his appointment as the Paris correspondent of the leading Austrian paper, he wrote that it would be a springboard from which he would leap to higher things. Both they, as well as his friends in general, expected that after he had settled down to his new task he would produce another play, and one superior to any that he had written before. But a couple of years elapsed without his evincing the least intention of fulfilling such an expectation. On the contrary, he had turned his back on playwriting, and the reason was given clearly enough in some letters that he exchanged with Arthur Schnitzler between July, 1892, and June, 1893. This correspondence was prompted by a fellow writer, Paul Goldmann, who, while sitting in the press gallery of the Palais Bourbon and chatting with Herzl about the numerous friends he had made as editor of the literary journal, *Die Blaue Donau*, spoke in laudatory terms about Schnitzler. Herzl was surprised, as he had hitherto not thought highly of Schnitzler's literary abilities, but he now read his *Märchen* and at once wrote him a frankly enthusiastic letter (on July 29, 1892) containing the following flattering passage:

When I see a talent like yours blossoming forth, I rejoice as though I had never been a literary man, that is, a narrow-minded, intolerant, envious, malicious clod: I rejoice as I do over the carnations in the garden below when they come to life.

2

This was the beginning of a friendly correspondence that continued until Herzl settled in Vienna again in the autumn of 1895. Schnitzler replied in a long letter (dated August 5, 1892), in which he recalled the first and other occasions when he saw Herzl in their student days and felt very con-

scious of his inferiority. He had first seen him delivering a speech in the *Akademische Lesehalle*, when Herzl regarded him with an ironic smile that made him envious. He then heard, in the café that he often frequented, about Herzl's skill as a domino player and his importance as the writer of three-act plays. Soon after that he made Herzl's personal acquaintance and read some of his plays; but, he continued:

The whole of our student period passed without our being able to develop a close relationship—apparently because I was too arrogant for you!—I spoke to you then in the Chamber when we were already both Doctors. You were surrounded by a group of pretty young women, and again—I hope not altogether without reason—I envied you. And then also you smiled ironically. And again I left you in that depressed mood that one feels toward people who walk in front of one in the same street twenty paces ahead. This recollection is linked with another that deserves a sure place in the history of modern literature as a note in small print. The new Burg Theatre was still being built, and we were strolling up and down in front of the hoarding one late autumn evening. We naturally met by chance, as until this moment I have never been favored to meet you by arrangement. Then, with a modest but conquering look that rested on the towering walls, you said: "Some day I shall get inside there! . . ."

I still remember a first meeting with you at some ball or other one night, when you had long, very long, been a famous man, while I, despairing both of myself and my profession, and taken seriously by nobody, tried to satisfy my ambition as a good companion and man of the world. I was in a particularly happy mood that evening and, as I thought, inexpressibly elegant. Then you appeared. With a steady haughty glance you examined my tie and crushed me. Do you know what you said? "And I I took you to be a—Brummell!" I had the distinct feeling of having fallen into disfavor. It was clear that I must learn how to make up my ties better, or at least to do something distinguished in some other field. . . .

I, who borrowed *The Hirschhorn Case* from the lending library and the *News from Venus* from a good acquaintance, and who even bought *The Book of Folly* when I saw it offered cheap—I who maintained that *The Fugitive* could be performed only by the cast of the Burg Theatre—I don't know whether, after this, I have succeeded in saying what I wish to say to you—that there are truly not many people in the world to whose judgment I attach the same value as to yours.

This letter was followed by others, in which Schnitzler bluntly asked Herzl what manuscripts for the theatre he still had in his desk. The replies that he received were evasive and each in a tone more resigned than the other. In a letter of November 16, 1892, Herzl wrote: "If you, as you wrote last summer, always see me a little in front of you, the lead has been paid for with weariness, and today I am already sitting on a stone on the highway and allow the others to pass me by." A few weeks later (on January 2, 1893) he wrote: "My manuscripts! I have forgotten them. Of the practice of art all that I have left is some love for art, and on many days and in stray moments only a longing for creative work. Not without a penalty is one a journalist. I try to follow this craft as honorably as possible and look on at the political world. Sometimes I seem to be like David Copperfield the stenographer, and sometimes I consider myself a constitutional lawyer."

Four months later Herzl wrote: "How serious I must be in my decision to leave my plays buried if I don't bring them out at your dear and repeated request. Forgive me, but I don't want to know anything more of myself: I am now only a journalist. . . . Even if I were free, as hopeful as in my youth, and were I able to roam about poetizing in some delightful pleasaunce, I believe I would still not write any more for the theatre. I believe I would indulge in silent

reflection and smile, and would not feel the need of evoking the applause of the first-night public of Vienna or Berlin or any other city. I believe this on May 13, 1893, as I have for the past two years almost without interruption. This mood is so constant that it may now be taken as definite."

His bitterness was not appeased even by the production in the following month at the Berlin Theatre of *Der Flüchtling* (The Fugitive), a slight one-act play, which he had written in a few days (from January 25 to February 1, 1887). In a further letter (June 15) to Schnitzler, he explained that this piece had been written because he wanted to undertake a journey to Italy and had "cursed little money." It was the result of a suggestion from the editor of the Vienna *Illustrierte Zeitung*, who printed it. It was then accepted by the Burg Theatre, which kept it for two years before producing it, while in Berlin its presentation was due to the decision of the great actor, Ludwig Barnay, who wished to mollify Herzl for having produced another play of his some years earlier in a spirit contrary to his intentions. Herzl concluded his explanation by saying: "It took a long time until the wretches of the theatre broke me. They would never have done it if I had not concerned myself about them but written as I wished, in accordance with my own feelings and my own mind. And I tell you this so that you may learn from my own case. Don't care a hang about the rabble. Write only as you please."

These letters clearly show that he had abandoned all thought of writing any more for the theatre. His work as a foreign correspondent had made him occupy himself to a gradually increasing degree with political and economic questions, and the desire for literary creation came to be displaced imperceptibly by a concern for solving problems of society. He was particularly attracted by the method

adopted in France of relieving poverty and unemployment by providing work (*assistance par le travail*), which he regarded as an excellent means of reducing the pest of public beggars. After studying this method as practiced in one of the suburbs of Paris, he wrote a long letter on it, amounting almost to a memorandum, which he addressed to the leader of the German Liberals in Austria, Baron Chlumezky. He stated that the idea had already been tried in Holland, Belgium, and England, that he proposed to make a further examination of the system as conducted in other parts of Paris and to write on the subject in his paper, and that he commended this form of practical philanthropy as worthy of imitation in Austria if it had not already been introduced there.

3

Herzl's interest in social problems in general was soon succeeded by a preoccupation with the Jewish question in particular, to which he gave serious thought. In the summer of 1894, he went to Vienna for a short time, and in the neighboring town of Baden looked up his old friend and fellow journalist, Ludwig Speidel, with whom he had a long talk, which he afterward recorded in his remarkable Diaries:

We strolled over green meadows, philosophizing, and came to the Jewish question. I said: "I understand anti-Semitism. We Jews have preserved ourselves, although not through our own fault, as alien bodies in the midst of various nations. We have acquired in the Ghetto a number of anti-social qualities. Our character has been spoiled through pressure and it must be restored through a different pressure. In fact, anti-Semitism is a consequence of Jewish emancipation. But nations lacking in historic understanding—that is, all of them—do not look upon

us as a historic product, as the victims of former, more cruel, and more intolerant times. They do not know that we are as we are because we have been made so under torture, because the Church made usury dishonorable for Christians and we were forced by the rulers into the money business. We cling to money because we have been thrown upon money. At the same time we had always to be ready to flee or to hide our property from being plundered. That is how our relation to money arose. We vassals of the Kaiser also served as an indirect source of tax. We collected from the people the money that was afterward robbed or confiscated from us. In all these sufferings we became ugly, and our character, which in former times had been proud and splendid, underwent a change. We were indeed men who knew how to defend the state in war and must have been a highly gifted people if we were beaten for two thousand years and could not be destroyed.

"Now it was a mistake of the doctrinaire Liberals to believe that men are made equal by a decree in a Government law gazette. When we came out of the Ghetto we were and still remained Ghetto Jews. We had to be given time to accustom ourselves to freedom. But this magnanimity or patience is unknown to the population surrounding us. They only see the evil and conspicuous qualities of those liberated and don't suspect that those liberated were punished innocently. In addition there are the current Socialist ideas against mobile capital, to which the Jews were compelled for centuries to devote themselves exclusively. But if the Jews turn away from money to professions from which they were previously excluded, then they cause a terrible pressure in the conditions of livelihood of the middle classes—a pressure under which they suffer above all themselves."

Herzl concluded his argument by saying that the Jews would eventually adapt themselves to the new conditions and repeated his idea that "the traces of one pressure could be effaced only by another pressure." Whereupon Speidel

commented: "This is a world-historic conception." Herzl then drove away in a droshky in the gathering night, sitting slumped and buried in thought, when two young people, one of them in the uniform of a cadet, passed by, and he clearly heard a shout: "*Saujud* (Dirty Jew)!" He was stung with rage and turned round to look at the louts, but the rapidly driven carriage left them far behind. He reflected that the insult was not aimed at him personally, but at his Jewish nose and his Jewish beard, and he remarked: "What a curious echo to my world-historic conception."

A few months later, in Paris, he was sitting in the studio of the sculptor, Friedrich Beer, who was modeling his bust. Their conversation led to the Jewish question in Austria and they agreed that it was of no use to the Jews to become artists and to be free from the taint of money. The "curse" still clung to them: they could not get out of the Ghetto. Herzl became excited and heated during the discussion and as he walked home he still felt his mind seething. Then suddenly the idea struck him to work out the tragedy of the Jew's existence in the world that did not want him in the form of a drama. He sat down to write the following day, and after "three blessed weeks of burning excitement and labor" he completed the play in seventeen days, from October 21 to November 8, 1894. He called it *The Ghetto*.

The central character is a high-minded Jewish lawyer, Dr. Jacob Samuel, who, while loyal to his people, struggles to free himself from the social and moral Ghetto in which he feels himself confined. He is forsaken by his best friend, Dr. Franz Wurzlechner, a Christian, who wishes to enter political life and breaks off his Jewish connections, which he regards as a hindrance. Samuel bears the parting without bitterness, saying: "If I have come some way out of the Jews' street, it was with your help. Now I can go on alone." And

he continues alone. In contrast to him are his brother-in-law, Rheinberg, a banker, and his partner, Wasserstein, a good-natured but boorish broker, who float a company for the exploiting of a mine in conjunction with its owner, a Christian aristocrat, Rittmeister von Schramm. Samuel is engaged as legal adviser to the company and seeks to protect the interests of Schramm from the dubious designs of his partners.

Unfortunately, the mine is flooded, the shares fall rapidly, and a loan taken by Schramm is no longer covered by his holding in the concern. In this financial crisis, Schramm seeks an interview with Rheinberg and is refused, but he is seen by Samuel, who wishes to effect a reconciliation. Their conversation becomes heated when Samuel reproaches Schramm with ill treatment of the miners and the Rittmeister (who has an old grudge against the lawyer) accuses him of being in league with his brother-in-law and hurls at him the word "*Judenpack* (Jewish rabble)." The lawyer, enraged, replies to the insult by slapping the other man on the cheek. There follows a duel, in which Samuel is mortally wounded. With his last breath he cries out: "Jews, my brothers, you won't be allowed to live again until you—get out of the Ghetto." The plot may nowadays seem rather artificial and melodramatic, but the play gave a faithful reflection of the relations between Jews and Christians in the social and commercial world of the time in Central Europe, and, although the main characters were types who spoke the speeches written for them by the author, they were nevertheless taken from life and delineated with a skillful touch.

4

Herzl felt sure that his endeavors to secure the presentation of such a piece on the German stage, dealing frankly and critically with the Jewish question, would meet with the opposition of Jewish directors, who controlled many of the leading theatres. At the same time he wished that it should be judged solely on its own merits, uninfluenced by the name of its author, and therefore decided to ask his friend Arthur Schnitzler to try to get it accepted by a theatre as the work of a new playwright named Albert Schnabel. Herzl wrote to him that his sole purpose was to have the play produced so as to stimulate a general discussion of the Jewish question. The critics and the public could then defend and accuse. He did not care a rap about any money that it might earn, although he had hardly any, nor about the fame that it might win, although he had "none at all." If only the piece were performed, he would feel that he had unburdened himself.

In a further letter to Schnitzler (dated January 9, 1895), he wrote that nobody had the least suspicion of the authorship of the play, although he had felt tempted to disclose it to two persons. The first was Beer, in whose studio the idea of the play was born. On the following day he said to the sculptor: "Beer, if I were now not a wage-earner but could betake myself to the heights above Amalfi, I could write a play." He then absented himself from the studio until the play was finished, and when he returned he felt an urge to tell him the reason for his absence and to read the play to him, but, instead, he said that he had been prevented from coming by newspaper matters. The other person was his "very good friend," Dr. Max Nordau, who had already at-

tained international fame as an author and critic, and who would certainly, "in his ruthless love of truth, point out all the faults that he could have noticed." But he refrained from mentioning it to him, too. Schnitzler did his best, but failed to secure the acceptance of the play by any of the theatres in Vienna and Berlin to which he sent it.

Herzl, who had meanwhile moved to 37 Rue Cambon, thereupon wrote, on May 14, 1895, to another friend, Heinrich Teweles, the author, in Prague, and asked him if he would try to find a theatre for his play in that city. He described its contents, stressed its importance, and insisted that its anonymity be maintained. He also wrote that the four years he had already spent in Paris had "gone like a dream," and related the circumstances that had led to the play. He recalled that, at the time when he was traveling in Spain and received his appointment from the *Neue Freie Presse*, he was thinking of writing a novel about a modern Jew, but the plan had been set aside by his work as a correspondent. In Paris, he had been thrust into the world of politics and acquired "a more detached and loftier attitude to the anti-Semitism of my distant homeland." He appealed to Teweles to overcome any opposition that he might encounter from a theatre manager or anybody else, and to emphasize that *The Ghetto* was a sermon not different from any spoken by a Rabbi in the synagogue but was to be given in the freedom of the theatre:

Yes, it is a piece of Jewish politics, and what I am invoking your help for is not the piece but the Jewish politics. For some time now I believe that I cannot have a greater aim in my life than to devote myself to the Jewish cause, but in a different manner from that done hitherto—freer, higher, and in a peculiar way.

After Teweles had received the manuscript, he informed Herzl that he was pleased with it, although he was not so obsessed by the Jewish question himself. Herzl replied: "You say that the Jewish question does not preoccupy you. It preoccupies me for some time entirely, entirely, entirely. By writing this piece I thought that I had unburdened my soul. I have not. On the contrary, I have got deeper and deeper into the matter. For some time now I feel in the mood of a Savonarola. . . . I feel enthusiastic about it to an inexpressible degree."

A fortnight later Herzl received an inquiry from Schnitzler about the fate of the manuscript. He replied (on June 23, 1895) that it was in Prague, that no decision had yet been reached, and that the whole matter had sunk into the background of his consciousness. His letter continued:

But you were right then when, with your shrewd glance, you saw that, with this one eruption, I had not unburdened myself of the matter. In the weeks since I last wrote to you something different, new, much greater, has shot up in me, which seems to me now like a basalt mountain, perhaps because I am still so shaken. . . . There were weeks of the most terrible creative excitement, in which I often feared I was becoming mad. At present I have only outlines of a plan, but they are already a whole book. We shall talk about it when we meet in the summer in the Salzkammergut. This work is in any case for me and the rest of my life of the greatest importance, perhaps also for all men. For what makes me assume that I have planned something valuable is the fact that not for a second did I think of myself working as a literary man but always of other people who are suffering gravely.

Another few days' work and the thing is finished, so that it can no longer get lost, even if, owing to the circumstances of life, I should be prevented from its detailed execution. Then I

leave Paris for a few days to recover. . . . You know that lovely poem of Heyse, "To the Artist," which I often quoted. It runs:

. . . *Bangend, er könnte über Nacht
Hinfahren, ehe dieses Werk vollbracht.*²

That is my mood. I have deposited the pile of notes written so far in the Comptoir d'Escompte, strong box No. 6, shelf No. 2. To open it each of the three knobs must be turned to the right seven times. Somebody must know this lest I "pass hence in the night." You are now that one. Do I seem to you excited? I am not. I was never in such a happy and elated mood. I don't think of dying but of a life full of manly deeds, which extinguishes and elevates everything low, dissolute, and corrupt that may ever have been in me, just as I, through this work, have reconciled myself with all.

Herzl's play was not produced in Prague, owing to the opposition of the president of the Jewish community, who feared that it might have some unfortunate consequences. It had to wait more than two years for its first performance, in Vienna, under the title of *The New Ghetto*, and it was then presented in Berlin, Hamburg, Prague, and many other cities. By that time, Herzl had created a new movement in Jewish life of far-reaching significance and aroused the wondering attention of the whole civilized world.

² "Fearing lest he pass hence in the night before this work was completed."

V

The Visionary

THE NEW BOOK TO WHICH HERZL REFERRED IN HIS LETTER TO Schnitzler in such enthusiastic and perfervid terms was devoted to a plan for the solution of the Jewish problem. He had first become aware that there was such a problem when, as a young man of twenty-two, he read Eugen Dühring's book, which, he said, struck him like a blow on the head. But although it aroused in him the strongest indignation, he did not concern himself seriously with the Jewish question for another twelve years, even though he was rudely reminded of its existence through personal experience on at least two occasions. The first was in Mainz, while traveling through Germany in 1888. One evening he entered a cheap music-hall to drink a glass of beer, and, when he rose to leave and made his way through the noise and smoke to the door, he heard a youth call out: "*Hep, hep!*"¹ followed by an outburst of coarse laughter. The second occasion was in the summer of 1894, at Baden, near Vienna, when somebody shouted after his carriage "*Saujud!*" The latter experience affected him much more painfully, because it followed immediately after his discussion with his friend Speidel about anti-Semitism, and also because it occurred in what he regarded as his "homeland."

In Paris, he passed unrecognized and unnoticed in the

¹ *Hep*, consisting of the initials of the words "*Hierosolyma est perdita*" (Jerusalem is lost), was the cry of the medieval Jew-baiter.

crowd, and did not feel troubled by anti-Semitism. He found a historical explanation for the movement and adopted a rather tolerant attitude to it. He was even on friendly terms with the novelist, Alphonse Daudet, who was an avowed anti-Semite, although not of the violent type. It was at the latter's house that he met Edouard Drumont, who was author of *La France Juive*, the most anti-Jewish work published in France, which went into more than a hundred editions, and who was also the editor of *La Libre Parole*, which indulged daily in anti-Jewish defamation. Herzl did not believe in the utility of societies formed for "warding off anti-Semitism," and although he had the highest regard for Baroness Bertha von Suttner (1843–1914),² the famous peace apostle, he thought that she was quite mistaken in expecting that such societies would be of any help. He had set forth his own views on the subject within the limits of his drama, *The New Ghetto*, but this did not by any means offer a solution, for although it ended with the words "Out of the Ghetto!" it did not attempt to answer the question: "Whither?" He found it necessary to go on thinking.

After he had written the play, some nostalgic instinct prompted him to go to the great synagogue in the Rue de la Victoire. Although he had been living in Paris for three years, that was his first visit to a Jewish house of worship in the city. "I again found the religious service," he wrote, "solemn and moving. I was reminded in many ways of my youth, of the Temple in the Tabakgasse in Pest. I looked at the Jews here and noticed the family resemblance of their faces." He also recalled while there that when he was in Vienna a few months earlier he had thought of writing a book on "Conditions of the Jews." He wanted to go to

² Awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1905.

the various countries where the Jews lived in masses, namely, Russia, Galicia, Hungary, Bohemia, later the Orient and the new Zionist colonies, and finally Western Europe again. From all the faithful descriptions that he would write it would become clear how undeserved was the misfortune of the Jews, and he would show that they were human beings whom people abuse without knowing them. "Here," he wrote, "I have really acquired reporter's eyes, which are necessary for such surveys."

In the course of one of his visits to Daudet, he touched on the Jewish question and became rather heated as he explained his point of view. When he mentioned that he wanted to write a book for and about the Jews, Daudet asked: "A novel?" "No," he replied, "rather a book for men." Whereupon Daudet said: "A novel goes farther. Think of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*." Herzl continued to hold forth on the theme and impressed Daudet to such a degree that he finally said: "*Comme c'est beau, comme c'est beau*."

Suddenly an outrageous and scandalous event, which shocked the whole civilized world, claimed his attention and dominated his mind. It was the trial of a Jewish officer of the French General Staff, Captain Alfred Dreyfus (1859-1935), who was falsely accused of high treason by selling military secrets to Germany, found guilty, and condemned to imprisonment on Devil's Island for life. Herzl, as a newspaper correspondent, was present at the court-martial from December 19 to 22, 1894, and followed the proceedings, as long as they were public, with a feeling of distress. He was also present at the public degradation of Dreyfus, whose epaulettes and buttons were torn from his uniform and whose sword was broken, on January 5, 1895, on the Champ de Mars; and as he heard the hysterical mob yelling: "*À mort, à*

mort les Juifs!" his blood ran cold.³ Death to all Jews because this one had been found a traitor!

But was he really a traitor? Herzl had a private conversation at the time with a military attaché who knew nothing more than appeared in the papers, but who believed in the guilt of Dreyfus, because it seemed to him impossible that seven officers could unanimously condemn a comrade without the most convincing proof. Herzl, however, maintained that Dreyfus was innocent, because it seemed to him psychologically impossible that a Jew who had chosen a military career out of ambition and a morbid lust for honor should commit high treason without any conceivable motive, since he had ample private means.⁴ But the Dreyfus case was not merely a judicial error: it demonstrated the wish of the majority in France to condemn all Jews just because of one. And that in the enlightened French Republic, which had

³ In 1897, it was proved that the copy of the secret document, which formed the basis of the charge against Dreyfus, had been written by Major Esterhazy, a French spy in the pay of Germany. The result of an agitation conducted by Emile Zola and others was that Dreyfus, after five years' imprisonment on Devil's Island, off the coast of Guiana, was brought back to France in 1899 and retried at Rennes by a Council of War. He was again condemned, but was recommended to the indulgence of the War Office, whereupon he was granted pardon by the President of the Republic, and released. Not until 1906, however, was the Rennes verdict quashed by the Court of Appeal, which proclaimed the innocence of Dreyfus, who was then promoted to the rank of Major and awarded the order of the Legion of Honor.

⁴ A few weeks after the condemnation of Dreyfus, Max Nordau dined at the house of his friend and patient, Hoehne, Counsellor of the German Embassy (in Paris), with Herr von Schwarzkoppen, military attaché of the Embassy. The latter informed Nordau that the German Embassy had never had anything to do with Dreyfus. Nordau gave this information to Herzl, Zola, and other writers, and they urged him to obtain written confirmation of Dreyfus's innocence. Nordau, therefore, made a special visit to Berlin to obtain a written statement from Schwarzkoppen, but the latter, while repeating his previous declaration, said that he dared not interfere with the Paris trial, since, if the judges denied the validity of his testimony, grave diplomatic incidents might arise. (Anna and Max Nordau, *Max Nordau: A Biography*, pp. 328-329.)

conferred civil equality upon all Jews a hundred years before. It had hitherto been generally believed that the solution of the Jewish question would result from the gradual evolution of humanity to a state of toleration. But if such a highly civilized people as the French could sink to such depths of iniquitous injustice, what could be expected from other nations that had not yet progressed as far as the French had a century before?

2

After some months of ceaseless cogitation, Herzl came to the conclusion that the best solution of the Jewish question would consist in the Jews enjoying national independence in a land of their own. "It was the Dreyfus trial that made me a Zionist," he wrote in an article that he contributed to the *North American Review* in 1899. Convinced of the momentous nature of his vision, and unable to foresee what practical steps would have to be taken and what obstacles overcome in order to achieve its realization, he began, early in the summer of 1895, to keep a Diary, so as to have a day-to-day account of his endeavors. He continued to make entries in it methodically and meticulously for nine years, until shortly before his death, by which time he had written a chronicle extending to more than eighteen hundred printed pages comprising about a half million words.⁵ It is an amazing record of an indefatigable, resourceful, and heartbreaking struggle, conducted by a selfless and dynamic personality, who noted down everything of interest that he did and thought in the pursuit of his ideal. It includes reasonable

⁵ Published under the title *Theodor Herzls Tagebücher*, three volumes, 1922-1923, Berlin. The editor was Professor Leon Kellner, Herzl's literary executor.

proposals and fantastic suggestions, random thoughts and sage reflections, drafts of letters and notes for speeches, pen portraits of scores of personalities, interviews with statesmen and sovereigns, details of important journeys, comments on congresses and conferences, praise for those who helped and blame for those who hindered, interspersed with a frank outpouring of his hopes and aspirations, his doubts and fears, his frustrations and disappointments, his annoyance at being ridiculed and his determination to win through. That he succeeded in producing this imposing autobiography, while at the same time always busy with nerve-racking political activity, occupied with journalistic duties, and continuing to engage in creative writing, was a triumph of industry and strength of will.

In the opening passage of Volume I of his *Diary*, Herzl set forth the nature of the task to which he had dedicated himself:

I have been engaged for some time on a work that is of immeasurable grandeur. I don't yet know whether I shall carry it out. It seems like a mighty dream. For days and weeks now it has preoccupied me everywhere, hovers over my ordinary conversations, peers over my shoulder at my comically petty journalistic work, disturbs me and intoxicates me.

What will result from it I cannot yet surmise. Only my experience tells me that it is remarkable already as a dream and that I should write it down—if not as a memorial for mankind, then for my own pleasure or meditation in the future. And perhaps between these two possibilities—for literature. If the romance leads to no reality, then out of the reality may come a romance.

Title: *The Promised Land!*

The first practical step that he took, in May, 1895, was to write to Baron Maurice de Hirsch (1831–1896), asking for

an appointment to discuss the Jewish question. Hirsch was a multimillionaire, born in Munich and living in Paris, who had made a vast fortune from the building of railways in Russia and the Balkans and who was devoting a large part of it to the transplantation of Jews from Russia and Rumania to the Argentine and other parts of America, where they were settled in agricultural villages. For this purpose, he founded the Jewish Colonization Association, with a capital of two million pounds, which he later increased to about ten million pounds. The interview took place on the morning of Whit Sunday in the Baron's palatial mansion, by the magnificence of which and the profusion of its works of art Herzl was much impressed. He took with him twenty-two pages of closely written notes and asked to be allowed to speak for an hour, to which the Baron assented. But Herzl did not get very far in his notes. The Baron insisted that emigration was the only solution and that there were enough countries to be bought, to which Herzl replied that there must be a previous training and preparation of the Jews who were to emigrate, and that arrangements must be made to prevent an economic disturbance and a vacuum in the countries they left. Thereupon Hirsch said: "Where will you get the money from? Rothschild will subscribe five hundred francs."

"The money?" returned Herzl, laughing defiantly. "I shall raise a Jewish national loan of ten million marks."

"Fantasy!" exclaimed Hirsch with a smile. "The rich Jews give nothing. The rich are bad—they don't interest themselves in the sufferings of the poor."

"You talk like a Socialist, Baron Hirsch," said Herzl.

"I really am one. I am quite ready to hand over everything if the others must also do the same."

The interview ended inconclusively, the Baron remark-

ing that this was not their last talk. But as soon as Herzl returned home, he wrote the Baron a long letter (on June 3, 1895), in which he said that, owing to Hirsch's impatience and interruptions, he had not got beyond page 6 of his notes and he therefore was supplementing his verbal statement. Hirsch, he wrote, was the big-money Jew, while he was the Jew of the spirit, and, if it were objected that he was young, at his age a man was a minister in France and Napoleon was Emperor. He had thought out all the numerous technical details in connection with the exodus to the Promised Land, which would be headed by a flag. "And then you would have scoffingly asked me: 'a flag, what is that? A pole with a piece of stuff?' No, sir, a flag is more than that. With a flag one leads people whithersoever one wishes, even into the Promised Land." The letter continued: What was a national loan of ten milliard marks for the Jews? They were surely richer than the French of 1871, and how many Jews were among them! Besides, they could already start on the march with one milliard. "Jewish money was found in heavy masses for a Chinese loan, for Negro railways in Africa, for the most adventurous enterprises—and for the extremest, most immediate, most tormenting need of the Jews themselves would none be found?"

Herzl never had a second interview with Hirsch, but a fortnight later he wrote him a concluding note, saying that he had given the matter up:

Why? My plan would fail more because of the poor than of the rich Jews. . . . The Jews are at present not to be helped. If one showed them the Promised Land they would scoff at him. For they are degenerate. Yet I know where the cause lies: in ourselves. . . . We must sink still deeper, be abused still more, spat at, despised, flogged, plundered and beaten, until we are ripe for this idea. . . . We are not yet desperate enough. That

is why the savior would be laughed away. . . . The matter is now settled for me as a practical thing. But theoretically I hold it high and firm.

But he did not give the matter up; on the contrary, he devoted himself to it with such passionate concentration that he was completely obsessed by it. He jotted down notes about all conceivable aspects of the projected State in ceaseless profusion, dating them all. After they had accumulated, he asked his father to copy them in order into a book, while he continued his Diary in a separate book. The reason for temporarily interrupting his consecutive record was:

Because there followed several weeks of unparalleled production, in which I could no longer make a fair copy of my ideas. I wrote walking, standing, lying, in the street, at the table, at night, when I was driven out of sleep.

He realized that much of what he wrote was disjointed and confused, but he would not stop to revise, as that would interfere with the flow of his thoughts; and he admitted that many suggestions seemed bizarre and fantastic, because in the first efflux of inspiration he still debated with himself whether he should present his ideas in the form of a romance or a political monograph. But he came to the conclusion that it would be beneath his dignity to make his plan palatable to the public "by love scenes and petty jokes as Bellamy does in his romance of the future."⁶

3

Herzl's next step was to write a letter (June 16, 1895) to Dr. Moritz Güdemann (1835-1919), Chief Rabbi of the Jewish community of Vienna, who enjoyed great esteem as

⁶ Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward*, 1888.

a scholar and spiritual leader, informing him that he had decided to put himself at the head of a movement for the Jews and asking for his help. He would like him to write an account of the moral and political conditions of the Jews in Austria-Hungary, Germany, Russia, and Rumania, and to meet him a week later at Caux, above Territet, on the Lake of Geneva, for a private discussion. He suggested Caux because there they would be free from the distractions of the world and surrounded by the peace and beauty of nature. He had also written to a Jewish businessman, Salo Cohn, asking him to draw up a report on the economic conditions of the Jews in those countries and to meet them at Caux, but, as he had received no reply from him, he requested Dr. Güdemann to invite another competent person to undertake the task and meet them there. Above all, there must be the strictest secrecy.

He continued jotting down all sorts of ideas—about the means of transportation, building houses, a seven-hour day, a labor corps from Russia, marriage conditions, military conscription, the stock exchange, the press, theatres and cafés, Rabbis and High Priest, transformation of the Society of Jews into the Jewish State, mode of government, a white flag with seven golden stars—and scores and scores of pages with further ideas, many of which were finally adopted in his brochure, *The Jewish State*. His mental state at the time is reflected in the following notes (June 16, 1895):

I have often been afraid these days that I would go out of my mind, so wildly did the trains of thought rush through my soul. A whole life will not suffice to carry everything out.

I believe that I shall be named among the greatest benefactors of mankind. Or is this opinion already megalomania? I must above all master myself.

I believe that for me life has ceased and world history begun.

I walked about in the Bois for three hours to get rid of the torment of new trains of thought. It became always worse. Now I am sitting at Pousset's, writing them down—and I feel easier.

The Jewish State is a world necessity.⁷

It was during his last two months while staying at the Hotel Castille, Rue Cambon, that Herzl wrote the first draft of his epoch-making booklet. How he felt during its composition he later described in an autobiographical sketch: ⁸

I do not remember ever having written anything in such an exalted state of mind as this book. Heine says that he heard the pinions of an eagle fluttering over his head when he wrote certain verses. I also felt that I heard a similar rustling over my head when I wrote this book. I worked at it daily until I was quite exhausted.

Anxious to ascertain the views of "a sensible friend" and fellow journalist, S——, Herzl gave him an exposition of his plan, which reduced his hearer to tears. Herzl thought that he had been deeply moved by the distressing situation of the Jews that he described, but his friend explained that his tears were due to the fear that Herzl's mind was unhinged. The publication of such a plan would make him either ridiculous or tragic. Herzl replied that the "tragic" would not frighten him, and if it were thought ridiculous, then not he but the cause would be doomed to failure. The following day his friend brought him a batch of receipts for telegram charges, and as he had to add up the amounts a few times before obtaining the correct result, whereas Herzl reckoned them up quickly and got the right total the first time, Herzl's faith in his mental stability was immediately

⁷ *Tagebücher*, vol. I, pp. 115–117.

⁸ *Zionistische Schriften*, p. 9.

restored. This experience prompted Herzl to address a letter (July 19) to Prince Bismarck (who was then eighty and had been dismissed by the German Emperor from his high office five years before), stating that he had found "*the* solution of the Jewish question, not a solution," and craving the opportunity to explain it in person. If His Excellency declined this request, then the plan would remain a romance—a Utopia like all the others from Thomas More to Bellamy. The letter was not written in the terms and tone that should have been used by a stranger in soliciting a favor from the illustrious statesman, and it produced no reply.

Thereupon Herzl wrote a succession of letters to Dr. Güdemann, emphasizing the importance of the problem that he wished to discuss with him and some experienced layman, and stressing his desire to avoid making any proposal that might prove harmful. He also informed him that he was writing out a detailed exposition of his plan (of which he had already done sixty-eight pages), which he wished the Chief Rabbi to read to Albert Rothschild in Vienna, and he would like the latter then to come at once to Paris, where he would repeat the lecture at a private gathering of the Rothschilds, with a view to obtaining their personal and financial cooperation. He would tell them that they were rich enough to further his scheme, but not rich enough to frustrate it. He also wrote to Albert Rothschild himself that he had drafted a memorandum on the Jewish question for submission to the German Emperor and would like to meet him in Austria about a month later to read it to him. He received no reply, which annoyed him very much, as he was accustomed to an acknowledgment even from the French President and the Foreign Minister whenever he made an approach to them. Nor did a further letter to Baron de Hirsch, who had gone to London, evoke any other response

than that he would not be able to see him for several months and that his views were unchanged.

The only moral encouragement of any value that he received was from Dr. Max Nordau (1849–1923), who was also born in Budapest and was eleven years older than Herzl. Besides being a physician, Nordau was a journalist, playwright, and celebrated man of letters. He was the Paris correspondent of the important Berlin paper, the *Vossische Zeitung*, and of the Argentinian *La Nacion*, and had won international fame as the author, in particular, of three iconoclastic studies of the moral and mental pathology of the contemporary world, *Conventional Lies of Civilization*, *Paradoxes*, and *Degeneration*, which had gone into scores of editions and been translated into many languages. Although the son of an orthodox Rabbi, Nordau had become alienated from Judaism; but when Herzl discussed the Jewish question with him he found him to be in perfect accord with himself, for Nordau contended that it was not a matter of religion but of race. "What is the tragedy of Jewry?" he remarked. "That this most conservative people, which would like to cling to one soil, has been without a home for two thousand years." There were also other Jews in Paris with whom Herzl had talks about the Jewish problem, notably Dr. Alexander Marmorek (1865–1923), a bacteriologist who worked in the Pasteur Institute and whom he also found to be like-minded with himself.

4

Meanwhile, Herzl felt that he had been in Paris long enough. He therefore proposed to the editors of the *Neue Freie Presse* that he should exchange his position as foreign correspondent for one in the office in Vienna, and they

agreed to appoint him as literary editor. He left Paris on July 27, 1895, after nearly four years of strenuous activity in that city, greatly enriched by experience and with a totally different spiritual outlook from that with which he had begun his career as a foreign correspondent. He first went to Aussee, in the north of Austria, for a holiday, and from there continued his correspondence with Chief Rabbi Güdemann about a meeting to discuss his plan. On the latter's recommendation, he wrote to Dr. Heinrich Meyer-Cohn, in Berlin, as a lay expert on Jewish questions, asking him to join them for this momentous discussion. Finally it was agreed that the three should meet in Munich on August 18.

They sat down together for lunch in a Jewish restaurant, where the proprietor, who knew Dr. Güdemann, put a private room at their disposal. After the meal, Herzl began to read what he entitled his "Speech to the Rothschilds," which was substantially identical with his booklet; but there was a break in the afternoon, as Dr. Meyer-Cohn had an appointment. The meeting was resumed at six o'clock in Herzl's small bedroom in a hotel, and, as it contained only two chairs, Herzl sat on the bed and continued his reading until half-past eight, by which time he reached the core of his plan. The Chief Rabbi, deeply impressed, said: "You seem to me like Moses"—praise that Herzl laughingly brushed aside. They then adjourned to the restaurant for supper, after which Herzl read the concluding part. The result at which they arrived after some discussion was that the "Speech" should not be submitted to the Rothschilds, but that the ideas which it contained should be worked out in the form of a novel that should give rise to a movement among the Jewish people.

Herzl accompanied the Chief Rabbi to the station, and as they parted, the latter, in a spirit of fervent enthusiasm,

said: "Remain as you are! Perhaps you are the one chosen by God." Then they kissed and shook hands with a firm grip.

After his critics had left, Herzl pondered on their judgment and felt some misgivings about the publication of his plan, particularly as they looked upon it as a Utopia. He therefore wrote to them both to correct this view, and emphasized the fundamental difference that distinguished his scheme from a Utopia. By a curious coincidence, another Vienna journalist with a somewhat similar name, Theodor Hertzka (1845-1924), had published in 1890 a book entitled *Freiland*, based largely upon the ideas of two American economists, Henry George and Henry Carey. This work was very popular at the time and went into several editions, and it influenced Dr. Güdemann and Dr. Meyer-Cohn in their judgment. Herzl therefore pointed out that *Freiland* consisted of a complicated machinery with many cogs and wheels, which could not be brought into motion, whereas his plan was animated by a vital force that would assuredly lead to its realization. That force was the *Judennot*—the misery of Jewry. He was resolved to fight for the acceptance of his ideas as soon as he made his home again in Vienna.

VI

The Apostle

THE VIENNA TO WHICH HERZL RETURNED AT THE BEGINNING OF September, 1895, was seething with anti-Semitism. The movement had spread to Austria from Germany immediately after the Franco-Prussian War and was zealously fostered by energetic and unscrupulous agitators. A virulent anti-Jewish book, *Der Talmudjude*, by Dr. August Rohling, a university professor in Prague, which was published in 1871, attained wide popularity and went into several editions. The movement was advanced and strengthened by the Pan-German Party under the leadership of Georg von Schoenerer to such an extent that several anti-Semites were elected to the Austrian Parliament in 1884. In the elections of 1891 as many as thirteen were returned, while in the Lower Austrian Diet the anti-Semites had almost a majority. The anti-Jewish agitation was particularly rampant in Vienna under the leadership of an astute mob orator, Dr. Karl Lueger, who, with the influential cooperation of Prince Lichtenstein, founded the Christian Social Party. In the municipal elections in Vienna in 1895, the Liberals were defeated by Lueger, who was elected Burgomaster twice and was rejected both times by the Emperor Francis Joseph. But when Lueger was elected in the following year a third time, the Emperor felt bound to accord his unwilling assent.

The effect of all this was not only to cause the Jews in Austria discomfort and disquiet but also to condemn them to disabilities in both the economic and the academic fields.

They were denied all municipal contracts, excluded from public administration, and barred from communal undertakings. Many also had difficulties in securing domiciliary rights in Vienna. But the most outrageous form in which anti-Semitism manifested itself was at the universities, where German nationalists provoked, abused, and attacked their Jewish fellow students, and even drove them away. The climax was reached when German students' unions issued a declaration that no challenge from a Jew to a duel should be accepted, as no Jew possessed a sense of honor that deserved satisfaction. That was an insult that hurt more than a blow from a whip.

Such was the political and social atmosphere that Herzl found when he took up his duties as literary editor of the *Neue Freie Presse*. This paper was owned and edited by two Jews of great journalistic ability, Moritz Benedikt (1849–1920) and Eduard Bacher (1846–1908), and many members of its staff, as well as many contributors, were also Jews. But its editors vigorously maintained that it was not a *Judenblatt*: it was a general newspaper representing German liberal opinion; and although it championed Jewish interests insofar as they were affected or threatened by injustice, its directors declared that they were Jewish only by religion and claimed to be patriotic and ardent Austro-Germans.

Herzl was naturally anxious to obtain the support of the *Neue Freie Presse* for his solution of the Jewish question, for this paper, although frowned upon by a large section of Christian opinion in Austria, undoubtedly exercised far greater political influence than any other organ in the country. Moreover, the prevalence of anti-Semitism seemed to him a cogent argument on his side, and he therefore thought that he could easily secure editorial cooperation. He decided to submit his plan to Bacher, for, if he favored

it, he could attract a number of men with sufficient authority and power to carry it out; on the other hand, if Bacher looked upon it only as a romance, then it would remain a romance. But in their very first talk, Herzl saw that Bacher was totally opposed to the scheme and would perhaps fight it. Bacher agreed that anti-Semitism was unpleasant, but looked upon it as a movement that would pass. Herzl then had a four-hour talk with a colleague, Dr. Ehrlich, an expert on economic and financial questions, to find out whether there was any technical flaw in the details of his scheme. Ehrlich saw none: he was enthusiastic about the plan, but felt sure that Bacher and Benedikt would oppose it.

Herzl then rushed off to Salzburg to have a talk with Narcisse Leven (1833–1915), a founder and vice-president (and later president) of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, the most important Franco-Jewish philanthropic organization. Leven told him that he did not agree with his ideas, but advised him to approach the Chief Rabbi of France, Zadok Kahn (1839–1905), whom he described as an enthusiastic Zionist. Leven also informed him that he would find many supporters in Russia, and mentioned in particular the name of Leo Pinsker (1821–1891), an Odessa physician, who had written a pamphlet advocating the resettlement of the Jews in a land of their own. Herzl made a note of the name and said that he would read the pamphlet when he had time, but he actually did not do so until his own brochure was being printed.

On his return to Vienna, he had another talk with the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Güdemann, and found that he had become lukewarm. He also discussed the matter with a bank director, Dessauer, who was at first enthusiastic but changed his tone the following day. Far more important was his talk during a three-hour walk (on October 20) with Moritz Benedikt,

the proprietor and editor-in-chief of his paper, who regarded the project as very serious but thought that governments would forbid the emigration of Jews. The management of the *Neue Freie Presse* had never admitted that it was a "Jews' paper," and Benedikt declared that it would be a contradiction if they espoused the scheme. Thereupon Herzl proposed two alternatives: either the *Neue Freie Presse* should bring out a small paper, in which he would advocate his plan, or it should publish on the front page of a Sunday issue a long extract from his brochure, under the title "The Solution of the Jewish Question, by Dr. Theodor Herzl." The details could be given later in a special section headed "The Jewish Question," for which Herzl would have sole editorial responsibility. Benedikt replied that he would talk the matter over with Bacher, as the editorial management was responsible for everything that appeared in the paper.

2

While this discussion was going on, Herzl was surprised to receive a visit from two official representatives of the new Austrian Prime Minister, Count Kasimir Badeni (1846–1909), Dr. Glogau and Dr. Stanislav Kozmian, who made him the formal offer of the editorship of a new daily paper that the Government intended bringing out. It was a tribute to the high standing that Herzl enjoyed in the Austrian press world, but it confronted him with a dilemma. His main concern was to secure influential publicity for his plan. Would he be able to achieve it more effectively through the *Neue Freie Presse* or through the new Government organ? He discussed the position quite frankly with his editors and told them that he preferred to work with them, in the hope of realizing his idea through them rather than through Badeni.

Benedikt said that he personally was in favor of the idea, but could not decide whether his paper should support it. He proposed that Herzl should take leave of absence in order to form a *Société d'Etudes* (Study Society), either in Paris or London; but he could not give an understaking that his journal would be available as a mouthpiece. Thereupon Herzl spent three hours in reading his "Speech to the Rothschilds" to Bacher in his home, but the latter, while finding the idea great and moving, thought that the paper would risk too much in identifying itself with the scheme, as the Jews might not support it.

When Badeni's representatives came to Herzl to repeat their offer, the latter stipulated that, if the new paper should prove a failure, at the end of a year it should become his personal property, to be used for the Jewish cause. He also made it a condition that he should work with Badeni in direct contact, and not through intermediaries: in other words, that he should be received on the footing of an ambassador. When Herzl called on Badeni at the Ministerial Palace, on October 30, the Prime Minister assured him that his position would be secure, that he would receive him as an ambassador, and that their relationship would be permanent. Badeni was even so friendly as to relight Herzl's cigar twice when it went out. Although the proffered editorship would have greatly enhanced his prestige, Herzl still preferred to remain with his old paper if only its editors would promise to publish his "Solution of the Jewish Question" within six months. He did not seek any compensation or other material advantage (although his salary had been reduced after his removal to Vienna and he was refused an expected allowance for his costs of transportation). He nevertheless attended a conference of Government officials entrusted with the launching of the new paper, to discuss

various technical details, and he made some useful suggestions. But, after the conference, he felt that he did not belong to those people. He wrote to Bacher that he was willing to remain with the *Neue Freie Presse* at his present salary and in his present position, and in a further talk said that it was impossible for him to part from him.

Bacher was delighted: he assured Herzl that he had a great future on the *Neue Freie Presse* and that he had a better prospect of realizing his idea through this paper than through Badeni's. They then came to an agreement that, if the formation of the *Société d'Etudes* should prove impossible, Herzl should publish his brochure and it would be reviewed in the *Neue Freie Presse*. He also volunteered to write Herzl a letter to the effect that he had not demanded nor would he receive any compensation for remaining with his paper. A couple of days later, Herzl called on the Premier to show him this letter, and they parted quite amicably, Herzl being particularly pleased that he had established friendly relations with the head of the Austrian Government. The following day he informed his colleague, Dr. Ehrlich, of his decision. The latter remarked that the editors would not keep their word, whereupon Herzl was enraged and exclaimed: "If they break their promise to me, the pillars of this house will crack." Two years later Badeni was no longer in office.

When Herzl asked Benedikt and Bacher for the names of wealthy and influential Jews whom he could invite to Bacher's or his own house and deliver to them his "Speech to the Rothschilds," according to their arrangement, Benedikt replied that he did not know of any such people in the higher financial circles. However, he went of his own accord to David Gutmann and his son, who had been pioneers in the use of coal in Austria and thereby made a

fortune. The father took his remarks about the Jewish State quite seriously, but, when the younger man tried to make some jokes about it, Herzl reproved him severely and said that anybody who wanted to jest about it "would be trodden upon and stamped by the movement."

On November 16, he was in Paris again, for the purpose of sounding some leading members of the Jewish community. In the house of Zadok Kahn (1839–1905), the Chief Rabbi of France, he read his "Speech" to a select gathering, but, apart from the fact that Zadok Kahn and his son-in-law declared themselves Zionists, the meeting served no positive purpose. The rest of those present declared themselves French nationalists and had no sympathy with his ideas. The only Jew who was in perfect agreement with him was Max Nordau, whom it was unnecessary to invite to the reading. Nordau gave him a letter of introduction to his fellow author, Israel Zangwill (1864–1926), in London, where he had met him a little while before at the house of their publisher, William Heinemann.

3

Herzl arrived in London on a foggy Thursday, November 21, 1895, and spent a week in England, during which he met some of the leading figures in the Jewish community. He first drove straight to Kilburn, to call on Zangwill, who was then only thirty-one but had already become famous as the author of *Children of the Ghetto*, published in 1892. Herzl spoke in French, with which Zangwill was not very familiar, but the latter appreciated the importance and urgency of his mission and therefore got into touch immediately with some leading fellow members of "The Maccabaeans," a club

of intellectuals,¹ with a view to arranging a public dinner on the following Sunday, at which Herzl should give an address on his scheme. "Meager dinner, but good reception" was Herzl's comment in his Diary. He was given a friendly welcome and a sympathetic hearing (his German speech being translated by the Rev. Simeon Singer), but nothing practical resulted. He was invited to dinner by the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Hermann Adler, who would not commit himself to anything beyond saying that the matter would be submitted to the Russo-Jewish Committee, to which Herzl replied that he would not submit his scheme, but that all who wished to cooperate would be welcome. He also had dinner with Sir Samuel Montagu (later the first Lord Swaythling), a patriarchal figure, member of Parliament for Whitechapel, and a pillar of orthodoxy and finance, who cautiously said that he would cooperate if the scheme had the support of one of the Great Powers.

The two most fruitful contacts that Herzl made were with Colonel Albert Edward Goldsmid (1846-1904) and Asher Myers (1848-1902). He went to Cardiff to see Goldsmid, who was in command of the local military headquarters, and heard the romantic story of his life. Goldsmid had been brought up from his birth in Bombay as a Christian, but on discovering, when he reached manhood, that his parents were baptized Jews, he resolved to return to his ancestral faith; his wife, who was the daughter of baptized Jews, also returned to Judaism, and they were married in a synagogue.

¹ They included Israel Abrahams, historian and theologian, Joseph Jacobs, folklorist and literary critic, Lucien Wolf, journalist and author, Solomon J. Solomon, R.A., and Asher Myers, editor of the *Jewish Chronicle*. Herzl was also introduced to Captain Nathan, who was to have gone to Vienna as Military Attaché to the British Embassy but was unacceptable to the Austrian Government because he was a Jew. He became well-known later as Sir Matthew Nathan, Governor of Queensland, Hongkong, etc., and held other high offices in the Government service.

He called himself "Daniel Deronda," the hero of George Eliot's novel of that name, who had gone through a similar experience. The importance of Goldsmid to Herzl consisted in the fact that he was the head of the English branch of the *Hovevei Zion* ("Lovers of Zion") movement, which aimed at the establishment of Jewish agricultural settlements in Palestine, and had had two years' experience as director of the Jewish colonies established in the Argentine by Baron de Hirsch. He was later to render valuable service as a member of the Zionist expedition that went out at the beginning of 1903 to investigate the suitability for a Jewish settlement of a piece of territory in the Sinai Peninsula.

At the house of the Rev. S. Singer, where Herzl again met Asher Myers and S. J. Solomon, as well as Dr. S. A. Hirsch, secretary of the *Hovevei Zion* association, he hoped to form a committee to further his scheme, but his efforts were in vain. There was, however, a sequel of vital significance. Myers, as an enterprising editor, asked Herzl to send him a resumé of his forthcoming brochure, for publication in the *Jewish Chronicle*, and he promised to do so. Mr. Singer, the eloquent and influential preacher at the New West End Synagogue in Bayswater, displayed sufficient enthusiasm and friendship to see the distinguished visitor off at Charing Cross, but his initial ardor gradually cooled under the chilling influence of the Chief Rabbi and the lay leaders of Anglo-Jewry.

On his arrival back in Paris, Herzl had to go to bed with a bronchial catarrh, which prompted Nordau to admonish him with the words: "A prophet must have a good lung." He soon recovered, however, and, after a courtesy visit to Zadok Kahn, he continued his journey to Vienna. There he lost no time in putting the finishing touches to his brochure, and sent a long resumé of it to the *Jewish Chronicle*. It

appeared as a special supplement of this paper on January 17, 1896, under the title *A Solution of the Jewish Question*, and thus formed the first exposition of political Zionism to be presented to the public. Herzl offered the brochure, under the title *Der Judenstaat*, to two publishers in Berlin, both of whom refused it. He then arranged for it to be printed by a small Vienna publisher, Breitenstein.

News of the publication of the article in the *Jewish Chronicle* was at once telegraphed to Vienna, soon to be followed by copies of the paper itself, and Herzl's scheme immediately became a topic of animated discussion among his friends and fellow journalists. He was equally prepared for ridicule and opposition. The first comments were anything but complimentary. Dr. Lieben, secretary of the Jewish community in Vienna, told him that he had received an inquiry from London whether Herzl was the author of the Utopia in the paper, and that he had replied that he did not think so, because he knew Herzl as "a sensible man." A colleague, Oppenheim, after reading the article, remarked that it contained "stuff" for a humorous skit, whereupon Herzl replied severely: "If anybody makes jokes about it, I shall make jokes about him. And I know how to make bad jokes." On the other hand, Chief Rabbi Güdemann, after seeing the first proofs of the brochure, wrote to Herzl that it would "act like a bomb and work wonders."

What concerned Herzl above all, however, was what his employers, Benedikt and Bacher, would say, even though they had promised him their support at the time when they feared that he would start a new paper. As soon as they had proofs of the brochure, the storm broke out and the atmosphere in the office became tense. Bacher said that his main objection was that Herzl wrote that Jews could not be as-

simulated, as that would be seized upon by the anti-Semites for use in their campaign. Benedikt asked Herzl not to do anything that could not be undone, to which Herzl replied that he could not hold up the printing and "later alterations would entail expenses." Benedikt answered: "That can be put right with money." Herzl commented in his Diary: "I don't know whether I have understood that aright. Does he want to offer me money that I should drop the publication?"²—but he did not state that such an offer was actually made, nor did the further discussion offer any ground for presuming it. In the course of Herzl's discussions with his employers, Bacher interjected: "You are burning your boats behind you." Herzl began to fear that Benedikt might want to dismiss him, in which case he must find another paper that would be at his disposal, and he thought of the idea, should it be necessary, of writing another brochure relating the whole sequence of events.

Benedikt argued that no single person had a right to undertake the enormous responsibility of causing this avalanche that endangered so many interests; they would no longer have their present fatherland, neither would they have the Jewish State; the brochure was not ripe for publication. He urged that it involved a personal danger for Herzl himself, as his reputation would be at stake, and he would thus damage the paper, of whose goodwill his literary fame formed a part. Besides, Herzl showed himself to be in direct opposition to several principles of the *Neue Freie Presse*. Benedikt wished that he should drop the publication of the brochure.

Herzl replied: "My honor is engaged. I have already published the idea in the *Jewish Chronicle*. It doesn't belong to

² *Tagebücher*, vol. I, pp. 333–334.

me but to the Jews. If I am now silent I would certainly imperil my reputation."

Benedikt begged him to think it over, to postpone the publication for at least a few months, and he himself would help him in the necessary revision. Herzl asked: "When?" Benedikt replied: "In the summer—when I go for my holiday." Herzl laughed inwardly. Benedikt continued insinuating threats, although he admitted the other's right to publish. He earnestly warned him "as a friend," "as an experienced journalist." He "advised him urgently," he "earnestly wished." He gave him to understand that he was well acquainted with the world of young authors, thus conveying the threat that Herzl could easily be replaced as literary editor.

Then Benedikt tickled his vanity: "It's no matter of indifference if Dr. Theodor Herzl publishes such a book. You are one of our most prominent collaborators—a part of the *Neue Freie Presse*. At least, if you do publish the book, you should not put your name on it."

Herzl replied: "That would be a piece of cowardice and indeed useless cowardice." Finally Benedikt demanded that he should think it over for another twenty-four hours.

Herzl talked the matter over with Güdemann, who advised him not to give way. He also discussed it with the bank director, Dessauer, as they strolled through the city park, which was buried under snow. Dessauer saw no danger at all in publication, but only advantages. He thought that the editor should not adopt any particular attitude to the brochure, but simply have it reviewed by some Heidelberg professor or other. Then they spoke about the future development of Herzl's idea:

He considers it just as possible that we shall experience the rise of the Jewish State as that it will materialize centuries after

our death. He thinks that the Jewish State will already exist in fifty years.³

Herzl went to a crowded meeting in the Jewish students' reading-room to hear an address by Dr. Güdemann and, when he spoke freely for an hour himself, he was given an enthusiastic ovation, which encouraged him. He was also pleased when he was shown a friendly notice of his *Jewish Chronicle* article in a Berlin monthly, *Zion*. Not until his brochure was already being printed did he at last read the pamphlet *Auto-Emancipation*, by Leo Pinsker, who had anticipated his ideas in 1882. His comment was:

Astonishing agreement in the critical and great similarity in the constructive part. Pity that I didn't read the pamphlet before the printing of my own. And yet it's a good thing that I didn't know it—I would perhaps have refrained from writing my work.

There can, indeed, be little doubt that, had he been acquainted beforehand with Pinsker's publication and with other similar writings of earlier date, he would not have undergone the acute and feverish mental pangs nor undertaken the laborious and meticulous lucubration that found an outlet in his own historic work. Never did any movement owe more than did political Zionism to the fact that its founder was totally ignorant of his predecessors.

At last came the day of publication—February 14, 1896. When the parcel containing five hundred copies (of a total first edition of three thousand) was brought into his room, he felt, as he recorded, a violent emotional upheaval after exciting days full of heartbeating and shortness of breath.

³ *Tagebücher*, vol. I, pp. 340–341. Herzl's prophecy that the Jewish State would come into existence in fifty years, which he wrote in his Diary on September 3, 1897 (*Tagebücher*, vol. II, p. 24), was thus anticipated.

"This parcel of brochures," he wrote, "represents the decision symbolically. My life now takes perhaps a new turn."

4

The brochure appeared under the title of *Der Judenstaat* ("The Jewish State"), with a sub-title: *Versuch einer modernen Loesung der Judenfrage* ("An Attempt at a Modern Solution of the Jewish Question"). A comparison with the "Speech to the Rothschilds," given in his Diaries, shows that Herzl had made considerable revisions in that first draft and had presented his case in a more persuasive tone and a more systematic form. Facts and reasons are marshaled in an orderly manner and with cumulative effect: arguments are developed more cogently; technical details are explained concisely; and, throughout, there is a spirit of unqualified confidence in the correctness of his diagnosis and the practicability of the scheme. At the very outset, he observed that the idea of the restoration of the Jewish State is not a new one but a very old one, aroused from its slumber by the anti-Jewish outcries re-echoing throughout the world; that his scheme has absolutely nothing in common with a Utopia; that the Jewish State is essential to the world and it will therefore be created.

The Jewish question, he maintained, exists wherever Jews live in appreciable numbers, and, when they migrate from one country to another because of anti-Semitism, they carry it with them to their new domicile. It is not a social or religious question but a national question, which can be solved only by making it "a political world question to be discussed and settled by the civilized nations of the world in council." In an eloquent and moving passage he wrote:

We are a people—one people. We have honestly endeavored everywhere to merge ourselves in the communities surrounding us and to preserve only the faith of our fathers. We are not allowed to do so. In vain are we loyal patriots, our loyalty in some places even running to extremes; in vain do we make the same sacrifices of life and property as our fellow citizens; in vain do we strive to increase the fame of our land in the arts and sciences, and her wealth by trade and commerce. In countries where we have already lived for centuries we are stigmatized as aliens, often by those whose ancestors were not yet settled in the land where our forefathers had already suffered affliction. Who is the alien in a country only the majority can decide, for it is a question of might like everything else in relations between nations. . . . In the present state of the world and probably for a long time to come might precedes right. It is useless therefore for us everywhere to be good patriots, as were the Huguenots, who were forced to emigrate. If we would only be left in peace. . . . But I think we shall not be left in peace.

No amount of persecution could exterminate the Jews, for no nation on earth had survived such struggles and sufferings as they had undergone. Jew-baiting had merely caused the loss of their weaklings, while the strong defiantly returned to their race. To escape oppression by assimilation would require a reign of political tolerance, which even a Bismarck could not achieve; and those who became assimilated through their economic prosperity thereby provoked the very anti-Semitism they sought to elude. Moreover, the national personality of the Jews neither could, would, nor must be destroyed. It could not be destroyed, because external enemies preserved it. It would not be destroyed: that had been shown in two thousand years of appalling suffering. "It must not be destroyed: that I am trying to set forth in this pamphlet after many other Jews who refused to give us

hope. Whole branches of Jewry may wither away and fall, but the trunk remains." The establishment of the State would not affect adversely those Jews who were or wished to be assimilated, for, by holding aloof from it, they could assimilate perfectly in peace. They would, moreover, benefit by the withdrawal of those who threw in their lot with the State, for they would be relieved of the disturbing rivalry of a Jewish proletariat; and Christians would likewise profit by the exodus, as they would be able to occupy the positions thus vacated. Attempts at the colonization of Jews on a small scale had indeed been made and proved unsuccessful, but what was impracticable on a small scale was not necessarily so on a large scale. Nobody was powerful or wealthy enough to transplant a people from one land to another. That could be accomplished only by an idea. "The idea of a State may well have the power to do so. The Jews have never ceased to dream this kingly dream throughout the long night of their history. 'Next year in Jerusalem!' is our old watchword. It is now a question of showing that the dream can be converted into a brilliant idea."

Herzl described instances of several forms of contemporary anti-Semitism, varying in violence and injustice, in different countries, and argued that no reversal of the tide of enmity could be expected. Everything pointed to the same conclusion, which could be summed up in the classic Berlin phrase: "*Juden raus*" (Out with the Jews)! That was why he urged the creation of a State. What was required was that sovereignty be granted to Jews over a portion of the globe adequate to satisfy the rightful needs of a nation: the rest they would manage for themselves. As for the territory, he, like Pinsker before him, did not commit himself to a particular one, but suggested two alternatives—Argentina or Palestine. The advantage of the former was that it was one

of the most fertile countries in the world, extending over a vast area, with a sparse population and a mild climate. On the other hand, "Palestine is our unforgettable historic home. The very name of Palestine would exercise a powerful attraction for our people." The holy places of Christendom would be safeguarded by being assigned an extra-territorial status. Herzl had not to wait long before he realized that no country but Palestine would appeal to his people.

The greater part of the pamphlet is occupied by detailed proposals concerning the establishment of the State. Two main agencies are suggested: "The Society of Jews" and "The Jewish Company." It is significant that Herzl, writing in German on French territory, should have adopted these two English terms: it indicated that, from the very beginning, he regarded England as the power that would play the most important part in Zionist policy. The Society would have its center in London and undertake all the preparatory work of organization and political negotiation. It would consist of distinguished personalities, who would speak with authority on behalf of the Jews in their dealings with governments, and who would thus represent the future Jewish State. Its technical tasks would consist of the investigation of the land and planning developments, while its political function would be primarily to acquire sovereign rights in the form of a charter over the land chosen. Without the basis of such sovereignty, there should be no immigration or colonization, as the local government could prohibit them at any time. The best form of constitution would be an "aristocratic republic," free from any element of theocracy, and the national flag should show seven golden stars on a white ground—the stars to represent the seven golden hours of the day and the white ground to symbolize the new life of purity.

As for the language, Herzl, who was ignorant at the time of the revival of Hebrew as a living tongue that had taken place, questioned whether any Jew "has a sufficient knowledge of Hebrew to ask for a railway ticket in that language," and thought that the medium of speech that proved itself to be of the greatest utility would be adopted as the national tongue. But three months later, Michael Berkowicz, the authorized translator of the *Judenstaat* into Hebrew, stated that he had been requested by Herzl to inform the Hebrew-reading public that since the publication of his brochure he had come to the definite conclusion that the Jewish State could be established only in Palestine and that the national language could be only Hebrew.⁴

The Jewish Company, which would also have its principal center in London, would attend to all the manifold economic and financial aspects of the scheme. It should be established as a limited company, according to English law and under the protection of England, and have a nominal capital of about fifty million pounds. This might seem "an absurdly high figure," but the amount actually necessary would be fixed by financiers and, in any case, would be considerable. Herzl did not expect that the capital would be provided either by the big banks or by the medium ones, but hoped to secure it by means of a national subscription. The Company would deal with the liquidation and transfer of immovable assets, the purchase of land, the construction of buildings and dwellings, the organizing of labor on the basis of a seven-hour day, relief by work, and the promotion of commerce and industry. The transmigration to the new State would be by local groups, headed by their ministers

⁴ *Hamaggid l'Israel*, No. 23, June 11, 1896. The statement was repeated in the Preface of the Hebrew edition, published in Warsaw, September, 1896. See Oskar K. Rabinowicz, *Fifty Years of Zionism*, p. 10.

or Rabbis, who would previously address their communities in their synagogues; and those who wished to make their own travel arrangements could do so.

Herzl concluded by admitting that he had left much unexplained, and that there were many defects, superficialities, and repetitions in his pamphlet, which he had "thought over so long and so often revised." But he urged that those who had sufficient understanding to grasp the spirit of his words should not be deterred by the defects but cooperate with their intelligence and energy in an enterprise that is not one man's task alone, and thus improve it. "A wondrous generation of Jews will spring into existence. The Macabaeans will rise again. . . . The Jews who wish will have their State."

VII

First Political Moves

THE PUBLICATION OF *Der Judenstaat* CAUSED A STIR IN BOTH the Jewish and the non-Jewish worlds, but it impressed different people in different ways. The first reactions of which Herzl became aware were those of his journalistic colleagues and friends. He had hitherto been familiar to most of them as a writer of light comedies about love and of entertaining and witty feuilletons; he was popular in literary and dramatic circles; and in whatever society he appeared, his tall, handsome figure, with his long, square-cut black beard, lofty brow, and dreamy eyes, immediately attracted notice, especially of the women. How was it possible that such a man should be the author of a serious political brochure, offering a solution of the Jewish problem, especially as, so far as most people were aware, he had never belonged to any Jewish society nor concerned himself with Jewish affairs? Many of his colleagues on the *Neue Freie Presse* and of his fellow members in the Concordia Club, as well as others, poked fun at him. They asked him whether the pamphlet was to be taken seriously or was merely a joke.

Many in the upper social and intellectual circles of Vienna Jewry were indignant that Herzl had called attention to the Jewish question and reproached him with having made their position more uncomfortable. Why, they complained, had he undertaken such a thing, when he did not need it? Others even thought that he had gone mad, and one of them leeringly suggested that the pamphlet should be bound "as

it was usual for lunatics to be bound." Herzl bore all this ridicule and hostility with the stoicism of a prophet. "Whoever is to prove right in thirty years," he wrote in his Diary, "must in the first fourteen days be considered mad." Nor was he free from slander. A story had got into circulation that he had published his pamphlet as an act of revenge against Baron de Hirsch because he had applied to him for the appointment of Director General of the Jewish colonies in the Argentine and had been refused. Herzl reflected upon the irony of his altruistic efforts for the Jewish people being made the butt of mockery and calumny at a time when the anti-Semites in Vienna increased their majority in the municipal elections.

The pamphlet was the subject of leading articles in scores of papers on the Continent. Many of them, both Jewish and general, and particularly those of the latter category under Jewish control, were likewise unsparing in censure. The *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, with which Herzl had been connected for a time in his earlier years, wrote: "Zionism is a desperate delusion. Away with such chimeras!" The *Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung* ridiculed the brochure as a "founders' prospectus for a Jewish Switzerland." Professor Gomperz condemned it in the *Vienna Zeit*, while admitting that he had not read it, and an even more slashing diatribe appeared in the *Berlin Allgemeine Israelitische Wochenschrift*. On the other hand, a leading article in a serious vein was published in what was regarded as the semi-official organ of the German Government, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of Hamburg, which aroused considerable attention in Vienna and probably even more in Berlin.

But the one paper, above all others, in which Herzl was most anxious to see his pamphlet discussed, the *Neue Freie Presse*, maintained Sphinx-like silence. His editor, Bacher,

had indeed promised only a few months before, when he feared that Herzl might start a rival paper, that he would have the pamphlet reviewed on publication, but he broke his word. Herzl was furious, but he refrained from upbraiding Bacher, as his livelihood depended upon his favor. Nor was any reference ever made in the paper to *The Jewish State* or to Herzl's Zionist activities as long as he was alive, with two solitary exceptions. The first occasion was a few months after the pamphlet had appeared, when a correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse*, Schütz, contributed from Moscow a feuilleton describing a visit that he paid to Leo Tolstoi on his estate. Schütz wrote that the novelist touched on the Jewish question and referred unfavorably to *The Jewish State*, but he made no mention of its author's name. The second occasion, only a week later, was when the paper printed the following news item from London:

Gladstone on Anti-Semitism

Mr. Gladstone has addressed the following letter to Sir Samuel Montagu, M.P., who forwarded him Dr. Theodor Herzl's pamphlet, *The Jewish State*:

"The subject of the pamphlet sent is highly interesting. It is not easy for an outsider to form a judgment on it, and it would probably contribute little to the question if one expressed it after having formed it. But it surprises me to see how far the misery of the Jews extends. I am naturally strongly opposed to anti-Semitism."

The English translation of the pamphlet had been made by Miss Sylvie d'Avigdor (daughter of Elim d'Avigdor, the first Commander of the Lovers of Zion Association in England), and Herzl paid the London publisher, David Nutt, nineteen pounds "and some shillings" for its publication. The interest shown by the English public was not impressive, as

only one hundred and sixty copies were sold within the first few months. Herzl also sent three hundred francs to Nordau to pay for the French edition.

Far more important, however, for practical purposes than the press comments upon Herzl's pamphlet was the reaction it caused among the societies of the *Hovevei Zion* ("Lovers of Zion") organization. These societies, formed for the specific purpose of establishing settlements in Palestine, first sprang into existence in Russia in consequence of the pogroms that broke out there in 1881 and which dispelled all hope of any improvement in the position of the Jews under Tsarist oppression. Theirs were the first attempts to translate into reality the national ideal of the return to Zion, which had been enshrined in the Jewish prayer book for eighteen centuries, and which had prompted so many Rabbis, poets, and other pietists, to wander forth to the Holy Land to spend their declining years in religious study and to die there. There had, indeed, been a succession of advocates of the Jewish return, both Jews and non-Jews, from the middle of the seventeenth century, including the Christian millenarians in England in the days of Cromwell and, a hundred and fifty years later, Napoleon Bonaparte himself. In England, in particular, the idea of the restoration had found frequent championship from the beginning of the nineteenth century in the most varied circles—theological, literary, and political. It was the dominant theme in Disraeli's romances, *David Alroy* and *Tancred*, and in George Eliot's famous novel, *Daniel Deronda*. Among the distinguished personalities who showed a keen and practical interest in the settlement of Jews in Palestine were the great humanitarian, Sir Moses Montefiore (1784–1885), who visited the country seven times between 1827 and 1874, and the Earl of Shaftesbury, who, in 1840, influenced the Foreign Secretary, Lord

Palmerston, to such a degree that he issued instructions to the British Consul in Jerusalem to accord official protection to the Jews in Palestine. Another notable Englishman, Laurence Oliphant (1829–1888), projected a Jewish settlement in Transjordan, but failed to obtain the Sultan's consent.

In France, too, there had been advocates of a Jewish State in Palestine: first, Ernest Laharanne, the private secretary of Napoleon III, and, secondly, the historian Joseph Salvador, who published a work entitled *Paris, Rome and Jerusalem* in 1860. Two years later, there appeared in Cologne a far more important book, *Rome and Jerusalem*, by Moses Hess, who was at one time a fellow worker of Karl Marx and who afterward lived and wrote for many years in Paris. Written twenty years after he had been estranged from his people, this work was the first critical exposition of the bases of Jewish nationalism, in which the restoration of the Jewish State was declared to be a necessity for both the Jewish people and humanity alike. The idea also found two notable champions in the United States—Mordecai Manuel Noah (1798–1851), who had been in the consular service and who, in 1844, urged that it was the duty of Christians to help the Jews to regain their land; and the poetess, Emma Lazarus (1849–1887), who gave expression to the national yearning in a succession of poems, and whose name is immortalized by her noble words of welcome on the Statue of Liberty in New York harbor.

2

Independently of all these pleadings and projects in the Western world, the idea of the Jewish resettlement in the ancestral land was advocated in Central and Eastern Europe by a number of writers and scholars, Rabbis and laymen,

with even greater ardor and energy, for they were impelled by stronger motives: religious conviction, national consciousness, and personal experience of the intolerance which their people suffered. To them, the question of restoration meant not only the realization of eighteen hundred years of prayer but the recovery of a land in which they could live in peace and security. The first of these protagonists was an orthodox Rabbi, Zevi Hirsch Kalischer (1795–1874), who expounded his views in a Hebrew work, *Drishath Zion* ("The Quest of Zion"), and who induced the French *Alliance Israélite* to establish, in 1870, the first Jewish agricultural school in Palestine, called Mikveh Israel ("The Hope of Israel"). Among those who supplemented his efforts in the following years were some eminent Hebrew writers, particularly the novelist Perez Smolenskin (1842–1885), the pamphleteer Moses Lilienblum (1843–1910), who wrote a brochure on "The Rebirth of the Jewish People in the Land of Its Ancestors," and the journalist Eliezer Ben-Yehudah (1857–1922), who settled in Palestine in 1881 as the pioneer in the use of Hebrew as a living tongue.

None of these, however, exercised so decisive an influence as Dr. Leo Pinsker, whose thoughtful and stirring pamphlet, *Auto-Emancipation*, acted like a clarion call and stimulated the formation in Russia of numerous societies of *Hovevei Zion*. Similar groups sprang up in the early eighties in Rumania, Austria, and Germany, and the movement soon spread to Switzerland, France, England, and the United States. In Austria, the first Jewish nationalist society, called *Kadimah* (which means both "Eastward" and "Forward"), was formed by a number of students in Vienna, in 1882, at the time when Herzl felt morally obliged to resign from the *Albia*; and among its founders were Smolenskin, Nathan Birnbaum (who first coined the word "Zionism"), Ruben

Bierer,¹ Oser Kokesch,² and Moritz Schnirer.³ Another society, called *Admath Yeshurun*, for the furtherance of colonization, was also established, and later a federation comprising all societies in Austria with a cognate purpose was organized.

The first agricultural settlement in Palestine, Rishon-le-Zion ("First in Zion"), was founded in 1882 by young pioneers from Russia, and was soon followed by other settlements created by Jews from that country, as well as from Rumania and Poland. But these pioneers were faced by tremendous difficulties, owing to their inexperience, strangeness to the climate, lack of housing and drinking water, the hostility of the Bedouin, and, above all, the want of funds. Fortunately, there came to their assistance Baron Edmond de Rothschild (1845–1934), of Paris, who provided them with generous subsidies, founded "colonies" of his own, and continued a princely benefactor to Jewish resettlement in Palestine throughout his life. The leaders of the *Hovevei Zion* societies, however, did not wish to let these practical developments in Palestine depend upon philanthropy, and therefore decided to combine their forces so as to render adequate aid themselves. They therefore convened a conference of delegates at Kattowitz in November, 1884, at which an association was formed of all the societies, with Pinsker as the first president and with the central office in Odessa. Several more settlements came into existence during the ensuing decade, bringing the total up to eighteen by the year 1895; but as the aggregate income of the Association from all countries was not more than about six thousand

¹ Born about 1845 in Lemberg, devoted himself to the Zionist cause in Galicia and Bulgaria as well as in Vienna.

² Born 1855 in Galicia, died 1905 in Vienna.

³ Born 1861 in Bucharest, retired from public Zionist activity after Herzl's death.

pounds a year, as against Baron de Rothschild's millions of francs, the prospects were indeed depressing.

Of all this long and romantic history of the efforts to promote the restoration of his people to their ancestral land, of the authors of different projects and their fate, of the struggles and sacrifices that had been endured, Herzl knew virtually nothing at the time he wrote his epoch-making pamphlet. All that he knew was that there were "Zionist societies" and "Zionist attempts," to which he actually referred in his pamphlet. He was soon to learn much more as he came into contact with the leaders of the philo-Zionist societies who welcomed his scheme, and later into conflict with other leaders who opposed it. The first to rally to his support were the Jewish nationalist students in Austria. The initiative was taken by the *Kadimah*, which collected thousands of signatures from the students at the universities in Vienna, Czernowitz and Graz to an address expressing "the thanks of the nation" to Herzl and promising "devoted service to the sacred cause of the Jewish people." So keen was the enthusiasm of some members of the *Kadimah* that they declared they were willing to organize a corps of a thousand volunteers to attempt a landing at Jaffa, and that, even if some lost their lives, the attention of Europe would be directed to this attempt to recover the land of Israel. Herzl commended their zeal, but warned them against such a foolhardy attempt.

Messages of congratulation and support reached him from various countries, from both societies and individuals. One of the earliest was a glowing letter from Max Nordau, lauding the pamphlet as "a great deed" and "a revelation." From the Zion society in Sofia came a resolution with six hundred signatures, headed by that of the Chief Rabbi, acclaiming Herzl as leader. The distinguished Hebrew scholar, Ahron

Marcus (1843–1916), of Podgorze, promised that he would secure him the adherence of three million Chassidim.⁴ A letter from Semlin, the native city of his father, informed him that the entire Jewish community was ready to leave for Palestine at the given signal. But what pleased him far more and filled him with pride was a florid address of homage from a group of leading Jews⁵ in Palestine itself, expressing gratitude, veneration, and devotion to the man “whose name would shine in golden letters for all time” for giving new life to the ancient belief in the rebirth of the Jewish State. He also received invitations to address meetings of Jewish societies in Vienna, Berlin, and elsewhere, but he declined them for the time being.

3

The Jewish State evoked a response not only from Jews but also from some Christians, both anti-Semites and philo-Semites, who either wrote or came to see him. His most remarkable visitor was a graybearded English Christian clergyman, who was destined to play an active part in his political endeavors. He was the Chaplain to the British Embassy in Vienna, the Rev. William Hechler. A profound believer in the Biblical prophecies regarding the restoration of Israel, he acclaimed Herzl very effusively as the man appointed to fulfill them. He had calculated according to a prophecy from the time of Omar (637–638), that Palestine would be restored to the Jews after forty-two “prophetic

⁴ “Pietists”—the Hebrew name of an orthodox sect founded in the 18th century, which emphasized the emotional element in prayer as more important for a religious life than the study of the Talmud.

⁵ Including E. Ben-Yehudah and David Yellin, a leading Hebrew pedagogue in Palestine, who later became lecturer on Hebrew poetry at the Hebrew University.

moons," or 1,260 years, which would point to the year 1897–1898. He had formerly been a tutor in the home of the Grand Duke Frederick of Baden and knew the German Emperor, William II, and he believed that he could procure Herzl an audience with them. A few days later, on March 15, 1896, Herzl returned the Chaplain's visit, and as he mounted up the stairs to his new friend's fourth-floor flat, he heard the sounds of an organ coming from it. He entered a room whose walls were lined with Bibles all round, up to the ceiling. Hechler showed him his comparative history table, as well as a map of Palestine in four sections, which was so large that it had to be spread out over the floor; and he displayed a big pocket inside his long coat in which he intended taking the map to Palestine. Herzl looked upon him as a naïve enthusiast, but nevertheless found something attractive in him when he sang a Zionist song of his own composition, with organ accompaniment. Herzl told his clerical admirer that he would like to be brought into touch with an important official personage—a minister or prince, or, best of all, with the German Emperor, so that the Jewish public should have confidence in him. Hechler immediately promised to assist him.

A month later, on April 13, Hechler came to Herzl in great excitement to inform him that the German Emperor, who was then in Vienna, was leaving shortly for Karlsruhe to visit his uncle, the Grand Duke of Baden. He proposed that they should at once go there together, so that Herzl could be presented to the Kaiser; but Herzl thought it prudent that Hechler should go on first and wire him when to come. Hechler went, but by the time he had a few talks with the Grand Duke and obtained his assent to receive Herzl, the Kaiser had already left. Before setting out on the journey himself, Herzl, on April 21, wrote a letter to Nordau, asking

him to find out whether Baron de Hirsch would be willing to give a few million francs for the cause, as that would create a great sensation. Later on the same day, he heard that the Baron had just died on his estate in Hungary. He reproached himself for not having sent him a copy of his pamphlet sooner, as he had to many others, and commented in his Diary: "His death is a loss for the Jewish cause. Of the rich Jews he was the only one who wanted to do something big for the poor. Perhaps I didn't know how to handle him properly." It seemed to him a peculiar coincidence that on the day when Hirsch died he was "entering into relations with Princes."

Herzl was agreeably impressed by the idyllic beauty of Karlsruhe and the calm, chaste dignity of the palace where he was to have his first political audience, while the blue sky and the warmth of the spring day inspired him with high hopes. Hechler had met him, related all that happened since his arrival, and indulged in pleasant reminiscences of his previous sojourn in the city.

Herzl was given a friendly and patient hearing by the seventy-year-old Grand Duke, which lasted two hours and a half. The latter had been suitably prepared by Hechler, who, in one of his talks, had reduced him to tears on referring to his dead son, Prince Ludwig, and then consoled him by reading to him a Psalm about the restoration of Zion. The Grand Duke was one of the more liberal-minded princes of Germany in the closing decade of the nineteenth century, and had had a Jew as his Finance Minister for twenty-five years. After Herzl had expounded the reasons for and the details of his plan, the Grand Duke replied that, while sympathizing with it, if he gave it his support it would be interpreted to mean that he wished to get rid of his Jews, which was quite contrary to the case. Herzl then made it

clear that he would like the Grand Duke to obtain for him an audience with the Kaiser and also to recommend him to the Grand Duke of Hesse, the father-in-law of the Tsar of Russia, so that the latter might likewise be interested. Hechler, who was present throughout the audience, which took place in a rococo salon with armchairs covered with red silk, and who occasionally interpolated a helpful remark, reminded the Grand Duke that he was the first among the German princes at Versailles who had proclaimed King William of Prussia as the Kaiser. "If you would only now take part in the second great founding of a State of this century!" he said with emotion. When Herzl observed that he would make better progress with the Jews after he had secured the support of a few princes, the Grand Duke replied that he should first form his "Society of Jews," and then an attempt might be made in Hesse to give *The Jewish State* to the Tsar to read. He was completely won over and said sincerely in conclusion: "I should like it to come to pass. I believe it will be a blessing for many people."

Herzl was thoroughly satisfied with the interview and paid Hechler's traveling expenses quite cheerfully. No sooner did he return to Vienna than his mind was directed toward Constantinople. He no longer had any doubt that Palestine, and Palestine only, would appeal to the Jewish people as the land in which they should be re-established as a nation, and he was therefore anxious to lose no time in submitting his idea to the Sultan. He first discussed the matter on May 3 with Dionys Rosenfeld, the publisher of the *Osmanische Post* in Constantinople, who offered to secure him the support of Izzet Bey, the First Secretary of the Sultan and a favorite of his. He told him that, in return for the grant of Palestine as an independent country, he would undertake to restore the treasury of the Turkish Government, which

was in a state of chronic insolvency, to a thoroughly sound condition. Rosenfeld thought that he could get Herzl an audience with the Sultan by the end of the month, but the plan failed to materialize.

4

More effective help was provided by a Christian Pole, Count Philip Michael Newlinsky (1847-1899), who was first brought to Herzl's notice by a fellow journalist, Dr. Saul Rafael Landau (1870-1943). Newlinsky, who was born in Volhynia, could boast of descent from a line of Polish noblemen, but had been impoverished through the confiscation of the family estates, owing to their participation in a rising against the Russian Government. He had obtained a post in the Austrian Foreign Ministry, and afterward in the Austro-Hungarian Embassy in Constantinople, where he had good prospects of advancement. But as he fell into debt, he was compelled to resign; whereupon he became a journalist and a diplomat-at-large. His professional designation now was editor of the *Correspondance de l'Est*, the imposing title of an unimportant paper. Herzl found him not only intelligent, well informed, charming in manner, and a connoisseur of art, but also possessed of a knowledge of the ways and wiles of the diplomatic world and acquainted with the most influential personalities in the Ottoman capital. He resolved to engage his services to secure an audience with the Sultan, but Newlinsky was restrained by doubts and preoccupations that had first to be disposed of: he had heard Herzl's pamphlet derided in journalistic circles as Utopian, and, besides, the Government in Constantinople was now worried about trouble in Crete. He also said that he had already spoken to the Sultan, who declared that he could

never give up Jerusalem, and that the Mosque of Omar must always be in the hands of Islam. He then pleaded a prior mission: he had to go to Brussels and London to see some Armenian agents, to induce them to effect an armistice in the Armenian revolt against the Sultan, in return for some promised reforms, and he asked Herzl to get him Jewish support in the press. Thereupon Herzl requested Hechler to inform Sir Edmund Monson, the British Ambassador, of Newlinsky's visit to London, so that the news might be transmitted immediately to the Foreign Secretary, Lord Salisbury, who wanted peace in Armenia.

While awaiting Newlinsky's return, Herzl put out feelers in different directions—to obtain funds and to strengthen his political position. He had a reply from Nordau, who had gone on his behalf, together with the Chief Rabbi, Zadok Kahn, to Baron Edmond de Rothschild. The interview had lasted sixty-three minutes, during which the Baron spoke for fifty-three. He refused to help, as he did not believe that anything could be achieved through the Sultan, and he thought that what Herzl was doing was dangerous, as it was exposing the patriotism of Jews to suspicion and the colonies in Palestine to the risk of suppression. While Herzl was reading this depressing message, there came a telegraphic dispatch from Paris that there were crowds in front of the Rothschild Bank, shouting "*A bas les Juifs!*"

Realizing the importance of the question of the Holy Places in Palestine, Herzl called on the Papal Nuncio, Agliardi, to whom he explained that he wanted not only the assent of the Powers but also, and especially, that of the Pope. He assured him that Jerusalem would be extra-territorialized. The Nuncio replied that, however many Jews went to Palestine, there would still be numbers of them left in Austria, Italy, and other countries, and anti-Semitism would

continue as before. In short, he did not believe that Herzl's plan would bring about the solution of the Jewish question. Herzl was also anxious about the formation of the "Society of Jews," and wrote to the Rev. Simeon Singer, in London, to persuade Sir Samuel Montagu to join it. Other members whom he suggested for the Society were Colonel Goldsmid, Nordau, and Singer himself.

When Newlinsky returned to Vienna, disappointed at the negative outcome of his mission, Herzl resumed his efforts to induce him to accompany him to Constantinople. He first spoke in general terms: the Jews would give the Sultan sufficient money to put his finances in order and would also influence the public opinion of the whole world in his favor. Then he became more specific: he would give the Sultan twenty million pounds, of which two million pounds would be for Palestine, and eighteen million pounds to release Turkey from the European Control Commission. It was a bold offer, considering that Herzl had not yet secured the backing of a single Jewish financier. As Newlinsky still hesitated, Herzl said that, if necessary, he would go alone; but if Newlinsky went with him and helped, he would profit. At last the roving diplomat agreed. Herzl defrayed his traveling expenses to Constantinople and back, and also paid seventy gulden (about fifteen dollars) for an imposing basket of luscious fruits, which Newlinsky said he needed for members of the Turkish Court.

Herzl set out alone from Vienna on June 15, having arranged with Newlinsky to join him in the train at Budapest. Soon afterward, Newlinsky introduced Herzl to three Turkish pashas, who were returning to Constantinople—Ziad, head of the Ottoman Mission to the Tsar's recent coronation, Karatheodory, and the Minister at Belgrade, Tewfik Pasha. The most important of the trio was Ziad, who was

also the smallest, but with his spruce beard and thick black hair he presented an air of dignity despite his diminutiveness. It was to him alone that Herzl expounded the details of his scheme, and he received his first cold douche when Ziad said: "Don't ask for Palestine, as it is against our principles to dispose of territory."

When the train stopped at Sofia, Herzl was greeted on the platform by an enormous crowd of Jews, men and women, old and young, comprising the most varied types, including a graybeard with a fur hat who looked like Herzl's grandfather, Simon Herzl. A bouquet was presented to Herzl, speeches were delivered in French and German in the most laudatory phraseology, and he was proclaimed as leader and "the heart of Israel." Then, as the train was about to leave, one of the leaders of the community, despite Herzl's resistance, kissed his hand, and all exclaimed in Hebrew: "Next year in Jerusalem!" The other passengers looked on in astonishment.

5

They reached Constantinople on June 18, and found the city in dazzling sunshine, presenting a colorful scene despite the rampant poverty and decaying buildings. From his hotel window, Herzl's eyes feasted on a panorama of mosques and minarets and a glorious view of the Golden Horn. But the beauty of the scenery afforded little consolation when, at the end of the first day, Newlinsky reported that Izzet Bey, the First Secretary of the Sultan, was opposed to the plan. At the opera on the following day, Herzl met Djervad Bey, a son of the Grand Vizier, who advised him not to ask for Jerusalem, as this must remain under Turkish control, and that he should not mention the words "aristocratic republic." He next had a talk with the Russian dragoman, Jakowlew,

as Russia was reported to be the Power with the greatest influence at the Porte, and explained his plan to him. Jakowlew thought that it would take many centuries and wished him health and strength to carry it out.

After these exploratory talks, Herzl visited Khair Eddin Bey, the general secretary of the Grand Vizier, who took him to the Grand Vizier himself, Khalil Rifat Pasha. Herzl told the Grand Vizier that the amount he would give for Palestine depended upon the extent of the territory, and that he would reveal the details only to His Sublime Majesty, but that, in any case, it would suffice to release Turkey from the Debt Control Commission. The Grand Vizier lost no time in expressing his opposition to the scheme.

Herzl was resolved to persevere. He went to the Foreign Office, where he saw a high official (designated in his Diary as N— Bey), whom he found to be favorable. He then had a talk with the first dragoman of the Foreign Minister, Daout Effendi, who was influential and in favor of the plan, but, as he was a Jew, discretion required him to keep silent. Meanwhile, Newlinsky, who had been received at Yildiz Kiosk, had ascertained exactly what were the views of the Sultan and came back with a doleful report. The "great man" would not hear of the plan. He was against giving up even a square-foot of Palestine, as the Turkish Empire did not belong to him but to the Turkish people. "Let the Jews save up their millions," he said. "If my Empire is partitioned, they will perhaps get Palestine for nothing." Although Herzl's hopes were shattered, he confided to his Diary⁶ that he was "touched and moved by the Sultan's really noble words," but when he had his first glimpse of Abdul Hamid, as he was driven on Friday with a cavalcade of high officials and military officers, all in resplendent uni-

⁶ Vol. I, p. 435.

forms, to the white Yildiz Mosque in the midday sunshine, with the blue Bosphorus in the background, and military music alternating with the strident call of the muezzin from the minaret, his impression of the potentate was anything but edifying. "He is a shriveled, sickly man," he wrote, "with a big hooked nose and a middling full beard that looks dyed brown."

In another talk that he had with Izzet Bey, Herzl gathered that if he secured some other territory and offered it in exchange for Palestine, the offer might perhaps be considered. From Newlinsky, who was apparently tireless in his efforts to probe the Sultan, he learned that the improvident monarch would be willing to receive him, but only after he had rendered him some substantial service. This was to consist in influencing the European press—in London and Paris, Berlin and Vienna—to comment upon the Armenian question in a pro-Turkish spirit and to persuade the Armenian leaders to submit to him in return for all possible concessions. The Sultan's reason for not seeing him now was that the plan for a Jewish State had not remained a secret, but had been mentioned to him by various high ministers. Before he granted Herzl an audience, however, he would like him to consider whether the Jews would not be willing to accept some other country.

As a consolation for Herzl's political disappointment, the Sultan gave permission for his adjutant to conduct him through his palace on the Bosphorus, Dolma Bagdsche and Beglerbeg, and to show him the imperial treasures at Eski Serai. What seems to have impressed him most was the bathing salon of Beglerbeg—"a sultry Oriental dream." And when he returned to his hotel from this conducted tour, Newlinsky handed him a token of the Sultan's goodwill—a case containing the Commander's Cross of the Order of the Medji-

dije. There was one other compensation that he obtained—a special interview with the Grand Vizier for the *Neue Freie Presse*, a peace offering to atone for his two weeks' absence from the office.

Herzl and his companion left Constantinople on June 28. When the train reached Sofia, he was again welcomed by a large Jewish delegation, which took him first to the meeting-place of the Zionist society and then to the synagogue, where hundreds of people were eagerly awaiting him. He mounted the steps to the Ark of the Law, and, as he had to turn his back to it in order to address the congregation, he hesitated for a moment, when somebody called out: "You can stand with your back to the Ark. You are holier than the *Torah*." Herzl spoke in German and French and his words were translated into Bulgarian and Spaniolish.⁷ In the evening, he dined with the Minister Natchevitch, to whom he mentioned that the Jews complained that the authorities intended expropriating the land on which their synagogue had stood for five hundred years. Natchevitch promised that he would settle the matter favorably.

During the last day of their journey, Newlinsky suggested to Herzl that the Sultan should offer Palestine to the Jews as a principality, with its own laws under his suzerainty, and, in return, the Jews should pay him a tribute of one million pounds a year, which could be immediately mortgaged for a loan to be arranged by the Zionist authority. Herzl thought this idea excellent and decided to propose it in London. He was pleased with another suggestion of Newlinsky—to get Bismarck interested in the Jewish problem through his friend, Sidney Whitman, the English journalist. Newlinsky

⁷ A development of the medieval Castilian tongue, taken by the Jews exiled from Spain in 1492 to the Balkan and other countries in the Near East. It is also called Ladino.

would invite Whitman to come from London to Carlsbad for a talk about Herzl's plan, whereupon Whitman would go to Friedrichsruh to win Bismarck over to the idea; and then Bismarck would address a letter to the Sultan, who would receive Herzl and issue a call to the Jews, which Herzl would broadcast to the entire world—"and the whole thing would be done." So elated was Herzl by the idea that when they reached Vienna, he promised Newlinsky his everlasting friendship, and in his Diary,⁸ on July 1, he noted: "If we get Palestine through him we shall present him as a reward with a fine estate in Galicia."

His next scene of activity was London again, but before journeying there, he addressed himself once more to the Armenian problem and made a further effort to secure an audience with the Kaiser. In the home of his parents, he had a talk with an Armenian agent, Alawerdow, to whom he offered his services as a conciliator. He also asked him to inform the Armenians, in London and elsewhere, that he was a friend of theirs and to counsel them to exercise a pacifying influence. He then hastened to Karlsruhe, at the suggestion of Hechler, to see the Grand Duke of Baden, in order to obtain an audience with the Kaiser; but on his arrival there, he found that the Grand Duke had already gone to Freiburg and left a message that he should follow on. He decided, however, to ask Hechler to wire to the Grand Duke that he had a pressing engagement in London and would report to him on his return.

6

He reached England on July 5, and spent ten busy, exciting days. His immediate aim was to form the Society of

⁸ Vol. I, p. 465.

Jews, which was to be the central pivot of his plan, and he therefore had a talk with the Rev. Simeon Singer, to revive his enthusiasm, and gave an interview to Lucien Wolf, the foreign editor of the *Daily Graphic*. He also had a discussion with Claude Montefiore and Frederic David Mocatta, two leading representatives of the Anglo-Jewish Association, who devoted much of their time and their wealth to philanthropic causes but who were fundamentally opposed to the idea of a Jewish nation. The formula that he submitted to them was as follows: "The Society of Jews aims at acquiring a territory by international law for those Jews who cannot become assimilated." The Society should consist of leading personalities and constitute a *Société d'Etudes*. Montefiore said that Herzl demanded a revolution of all his previous ideas, and he echoed the views of Mocatta, too. After they had left, Herzl wrote letters to them both, to clarify his views, but without avail. Mocatta promptly replied that to him a Jewish State was unacceptable, impossible, and undesirable.

On July 6, Herzl addressed the Maccabaeans again, after the usual Club dinner. He read his speech in English, in which he had been coached by Singer. He said that he had made many important alterations in his plan, owing to a recognition of practical necessities, but he now knew that the Jews wanted to have their State; and he concluded with the affirmation that the Jewish people could be helped only politically, not philanthropically. The meeting concluded with a speech by Lucien Wolf, who proposed the formation of a Study Commission.

The following day, Herzl had a letter from Nordau, informing him that Chief Rabbi Zadok Kahn had told him of the complaint of Baron Edmond de Rothschild that, owing to the pamphlet *The Jewish State*, the Turkish authorities in Palestine had made things difficult for the new colonists

and even destroyed the latest colony. Herzl wired to Newlinsky to find out whether there was any ground for this complaint. He replied to Zadok Kahn that he was making inquiries in Constantinople and would report to him later, and again begged him to secure the Baron's support: he would offer him the Presidency of the Society of Jews and, later on, a higher title.

He then went to see Sir Samuel Montagu, on July 8, at the House of Commons. He was impressed by its Gothic carvings and the hustle and bustle in the lobby, and he commented in his Diary that he understood how English Jews clung to a country in which they could enter the House of Parliament "as masters." Montagu took him into "a charming little waiting room," where he related to him the sequence of incidents, from the interview with the Grand Duke to the visit to Constantinople. Montagu was impressed, but was afraid that the Sultan would "throttle" the Jewish immigrants after receiving the Jewish loan. Suddenly he was called away by the bell, to take part in a vote, whereupon Herzl quickly gave the financial question further thought. When Montagu returned, Herzl suggested that both the tribute of one million pounds a year, as well as the loan of twenty million pounds to be raised on it, should be paid in installments. In the first years, the amount should be one hundred thousand pounds, on which the loan should be two million pounds, and, gradually, with the growth of immigration, there should be an increase of the tribute, upon which further portions of the loan should be paid, until the entire amount had been handed over. There would then be so many Jews in Palestine, together with Jewish armed forces, that there would be no fear of any "throttling attempts" by the Turks. Montagu took Herzl to his home and confided to him on the way that the Hirsch Foundation

(the Jewish Colonization Association) had a capital of at least ten million pounds. If they could win the Association over and obtain about five million pounds, the tribute for the first years of immigration would be secured.

In the course of another talk a few days later, at which Colonel Goldsmid was also present, Montagu laid down three conditions for cooperating in the furtherance of Herzl's plan: the Great Powers must approve; the Hirsch Foundation must provide the requisite millions; and Baron Edmond de Rothschild must join the executive committee. Herzl assured them that he was quite willing to yield the leadership of the movement to the Baron. Meanwhile, he asked Goldsmid if he could get him an introduction from the Prince of Wales to the Tsar (for he had thought of the Prince of Wales as the Protector of the Jewish State as early as June, 1895⁹). He had a further discussion with Singer, Lucien Wolf, and Solomon J. Solomon, at which it was agreed to form a "watching committee," instead of the Society of Jews, which seemed to them a rather colorless designation, from among those members of the Maccabaeans who were in favor of the plan. But nothing practical resulted from this suggestion, and Herzl began to fear that his visit to London had been in vain. He now pinned his hopes upon a Jewish public meeting in the East End.

On the day before this meeting, he went to see an Armenian revolutionary, Nazarbek, living in Shepherd's Bush, in order to do what he could to satisfy the Sultan's wish that the Armenians should cease from troubling. He was accompanied by a Russian Jewish journalist, Rapoport, representative of the *Novosti*, who acted as interpreter. Nazarbek declared that he distrusted the Sultan and would like adequate guarantees before submitting; but although Herzl

⁹ *Tagebücher*, vol. I, p. 59.

promised that the Sultan would stop the massacres and all further arrests as a mark of goodwill, he failed to reach a satisfactory understanding with the revolutionary.

The most important outcome of Herzl's visit to London was the first public meeting that he addressed in England. It took place in the Jewish Working Men's Club (which has long since been converted to other purposes), in Great Alie Street, Aldgate, on a warm Sunday afternoon, July 12, 1896. I lived only a few dozen yards away and was able to get there early and secure a seat near the platform. It was the first time that I saw the man about whom so much had already been printed in the English press and who was destined to usher in a new epoch in the history of his people, and, indeed, in the history of the world, too.

The hall, which could hold only a few hundred, was packed to suffocation with a perspiring crowd, who had been attracted by the English and Yiddish posters, while thousands outside were unable to gain admittance. The great majority of the audience were natives of Russia, some of whom had come to England only recently and others some years previously, though all alike had vivid memories of the Tsarist persecutions from which they had fled. There was a hubbub of animated conversation, and all were keyed up to a high pitch of expectancy as they awaited the man who, they believed, would lead them back to the land of their forefathers. Their hopes were particularly fired by the alluring announcement on the Yiddish posters that Herzl had already spoken to the Sultan of Turkey. There was therefore a storm of prolonged applause when they had their first glimpse of the tall, majestic figure as he emerged from some scenery on the platform, stepped forward to the table, and bowed his acknowledgments.

An attempt had been made to induce Sir Samuel Montagu, Member of Parliament for the local Whitechapel constituency as well as President of the Federation of many synagogues in the district, to take the chair, but he was unwilling to risk his reputation as an esteemed City banker in connection with a movement whose future then appeared wrapped in obscurity. An endeavor had likewise been made to get Colonel Goldsmid to preside, but he also refused, as he felt it would be incompatible with his position as a British military officer to identify himself publicly with what was intended to be an international political movement.

The chair was therefore taken by the Rev. Dr. Moses Gaster, *Haham* (Chief Rabbi) of the Sephardi community, who had been active in previous years among the *Hovevei Zion* in Rumania, and who annoyed his lay leaders because of his advocacy of the Zionist idea. Herzl was at that time a young man of only thirty-six, but with his long, black, square-cut beard, his long, black frock coat, his dignified mien and imposing presence, he not only looked older but seemed to have come from a different world. He spoke calmly and deliberately in a pleasant and resonant voice, without any attempt at declamation or any desire to arouse passion. His speech was that of one convinced of the truth of his ideas and the practicability of his plan, and he addressed himself to the minds of his listeners, not to their hearts. As the language that he used was the elegant German of an author, it was doubtful whether many understood all that he said; but they certainly grasped his meaning and were manifestly under his spell. When he finished he was given a vociferous ovation.

There were other speakers on the platform, but they did not form a harmonious chorus, for while Dr. Gaster gave

his eloquent support, some sought to damp the general enthusiasm by pleas for caution. The loudest applause was aroused by a local Hebrew teacher, Ephraim Ish-Kishor, whose Yiddish speech, delivered with passionate fervor, swept the audience off their feet and evoked a flattering comment from Herzl himself. When I made my way into the street, I found the crowd still waiting patiently for another view of the man who was shaping Israel's destiny, and cheer upon cheer followed him until he was out of sight.

Herzl was pleased with his first public meeting and thought that he could achieve another success in London by winning over the *Hovevei Zion*, who invited him the following day to a meeting of their executive committee in Bevis Marks. The result was quite the contrary. In the course of the discussion, a veritable storm broke out, which made it clear that his views were unacceptable to the "Lovers of Zion." Although Colonel Goldsmid was present, the chair was occupied by Joseph Prag, one of the two Vice-Commanders. They stated that they would support Herzl if he would not attack them again, but when he replied that he was in favor of colonization in Palestine only if it could be protected with its own Jewish army, and that he would continue to be against infiltration even if he were opposed by all the *Hovevei Zion* societies, the chairman rose and brought the meeting to an end. There were three men present, however, who pledged Herzl their devoted adherence: the teacher, Ish-Kishor, a printer, E. W. Rabbinowicz, and a young journalist, Jacob de Haas, who volunteered to act as his honorary secretary in London. They undertook to propagate the idea of a Jewish State and to organize the Jewish masses in the East End in its support.

7

When Herzl left England on July 15, he felt satisfied on the whole with the results of his visit. He was content with the promised cooperation of Sir Samuel Montagu, even though it was conditional, and in his Diary, as he crossed the English Channel, he recorded the "peculiar emotions" that he felt when he was on the platform in the East End:

I saw and listened how the legend about me arose. The people are sentimental: the masses don't see clearly. I believe that they no longer now have a clear conception of me. A faint mist is beginning to rise around me, which will perhaps become a cloud, in which I go forward. But even though they no longer see my features plainly, still they guess that my intentions regarding them are very good and that I am the man of the poor people.

On arriving in Paris, he occupied the room in the Hotel Castille in which he had written the first draft of his pamphlet. He had further talks with Nordau and with Beer, the sculptor, as well as with two other men who were interested and sympathetic, Bernard Lazare and Emile Meyerson. Lazare, a native of France, had written a book on anti-Semitism and was to play a courageous and conspicuous part in exposing the wicked conspiracy of which Dreyfus was the victim, while Meyerson, a native of Poland, was at that time the manager of the press agency, *Agence Havas*, and afterward became the director of the Jewish Colonization Association as well as the author of various works on science and philosophy. In his discussions in his room with these highly intellectual men, Herzl clearly had the feeling of the "gigantic progress of his idea." Meyerson undertook to arrange an interview with Baron Edmond de Rothschild, whom he was

to inform that Herzl wanted to see all Zionist societies united with the Hirsch Foundation, under the leadership of the Baron, and that, if the latter accepted this program, he was willing to withdraw from the leadership.

At last, on July 18, 1896, Herzl was admitted to the presence of the Baron in his bank, in the Rue Laffitte, and was able to deliver, although in abridged form, the "Speech to the Rothschilds," which he had composed a year before. The Baron, who was then just over fifty, had invited Narcisse Leven and Meyerson to be present. The interview, which lasted two hours, was marked by occasional sharp exchanges and a rise in temperature. After Herzl had unfolded his ideas and related all that he had done, the Baron said that he did not believe in the promises of the Turks, and that, even if he did, he would not support the plan. He thought it would be impossible to regulate the influx of the masses into Palestine. There would be one hundred and fifty thousand *Schnorrers* (beggars) to be fed, and he could not cope with that. As the interchange of views led to no conclusion, Herzl at last picked up his umbrella from the floor, stood up, and said to the Baron:

You were the keystone of the entire combination. If you refuse, then everything that I have so far built up falls to the ground. I shall then have to do it in a different way. I shall begin a big agitation which will make the masses still more difficult to keep in order. I wanted to hand over the leadership of the whole thing to you, the philanthropic Zionist, and to withdraw. . . . I have shown my goodwill and that I am no obstinate *intransigent*. You don't want—I've done what I could.

They both declared that they were enchanted to have made one another's acquaintance and parted. Herzl left disappointed. He told Nordau and Beer that his answer to

the Baron's objections would be to organize the masses. Nordau agreed and also declared himself willing to join the Paris Committee as head of the movement in France. Before leaving the city, Herzl addressed a meeting of Russian Jewish students in a crowded hall in the Quartier des Gobelins, and called upon them to organize their ranks.

Realizing now that he could not expect the help of Jewish financiers and leaders, and that his dream of a "Society of Jews," and even the idea of a "Study Commission," must be abandoned, he concluded that the only way was to make a direct appeal to the Jewish public.

VIII

Travails of Organization

ON LEAVING PARIS, HERZL DID NOT RETURN DIRECT TO VIENNA but first went to Carlsbad to meet his diplomatic agent, Count Newlinsky. The latter informed him that Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria (who became King in 1908) was taking the waters at the spa and would receive him; that he had ascertained from the Turkish Ambassador in Vienna that the report about Jewish colonists in Palestine being ill-treated was devoid of truth; and that certain Jews were intriguing against Herzl at Yildiz Kiosk. Herzl immediately sent a telegram to Baron Edmond de Rothschild, denying the report about the colonists and complaining about the intrigues. He had reason to suspect that it was an agent of the Baron, named Scheid, who was maligning him, and therefore added in the telegram: "If it was one of your overzealous employees, your responsibility will be very seriously involved."

Herzl's reception by the Prince of Bulgaria was quite informal. While they were both having breakfast in the garden-restaurant of a hotel, Herzl noticed that the Prince's secretary pointed him out. The Prince then rose to take a stroll along a tree-lined avenue, and Herzl followed until the Prince stopped to greet him. They both walked on together, while Newlinsky and the secretary kept at a discreet distance. The Prince told Herzl that he had been brought up by Jews and had known Baron de Hirsch in his youth. He thought that the project of a Jewish State was a magnificent idea, and it had his fullest sympathy. But, he asked, what

126

could he do? Herzl suggested that the Prince inform the Tsar of Russia about his plan and, if possible, secure an audience for him. Prince Ferdinand replied that that was very difficult, as the question involved considerations of religion and that he was not *persona grata* with the Greek Orthodox Church. However, he promised his fullest support, on the condition of secrecy, and asked for copies of *The Jewish State* in German, Russian, and English. This unconventional audience afforded Herzl only momentary satisfaction, for it led to no material result.

Newlinsky also told Herzl that he had received a report from Sidney Whitman to the effect that Bismarck had already been informed about the brochure and that he considered it a "melancholy *Schwärmerei*." Whitman had also spoken to Bismarck's son, Herbert, who promised that he would try to influence his father favorably. Herzl thereupon advised Newlinsky to write to Izzet Bey, the Sultan's First Secretary, and explain that the Jews who were intriguing against him were actuated by the fear that there would be an increase of anti-Semitism if a call were made to the Jews to emigrate to Palestine.

The lack of success in influential circles of London Jewry, the opposition of the *Hovevei Zion* in England, the unfavorable attitude of Baron de Rothschild, and the disquieting news from Constantinople, all contributed to inducing in Herzl a feeling of depression, which found reflection in the following entry in his Diary (July 24, 1896):

Ever and again the thought recurs to me how ungrateful the Jews will be to me for the gigantic work that I am doing for them. If I were to drop the matter today it would certainly remain undone and would not come to pass for decades—and even then only by using my ideas.¹

¹ *Tagebücher*, vol. I, p. 503.

It was in this mood of dejection that he wrote a long letter to Chief Rabbi Zadok Kahn, expressing regret that the latter was not in Paris when he had his interview with Baron de Rothschild, and appealing to him to use his ability and authority to win him over, as the cooperation of the London Jews and the Hirsch Fund (Jewish Colonization Association) depended upon his acceptance of the political scheme. As soon as an Executive Committee was formed, Herzl wrote, he was willing to retire completely; on the other hand, if the Baron refused, there would be a "cry of rage" throughout the world. He received a reply from Zadok Kahn, proposing that there should be a secret conference in Paris of representatives of all leading Jewish communities, "as no single individual had the right to launch a movement of such immeasurable importance." In return, Herzl wrote that he agreed in principle with this suggestion, if the conference were convened by the Chief Rabbi and if it would be of a practical character; his agreement would become definite as soon as he learned of the agenda and the list of persons who would attend. Nothing came of the idea, however, as Zadok Kahn later informed him that he received only evasive replies from the persons whom he tried to interest.

2

Herzl was back again in Vienna at the beginning of August, 1896, and immediately plunged into a vortex of activity embracing matters political, financial, organizational, and those connected with publicity. He wrote countless letters, all with his own hand, for he had no secretary yet, and copied most of them in his Diary; and he had an endless succession of visitors, either at his home or in his room at the office of the *Neue Freie Presse*, where, of course, he had to work



Theodor Herzl



Julie Naschauer as Herzl's bride.



Theodor Herzl's study.



Conference for the founding of Die Welt in the Café Louvre, Vienna (February, 1897).



Herzl with a Zionist delegation sailing to Palestine.



Herzl with journalists at the Sixth Zionist Congress, Basle (1903). The author (in light waistcoat), then twenty-four years old, is standing just behind Herzl.

The last photograph.



HÔTEL EDLACHERHOF IN EDLACH, N-Ö . . .
Südbahnstation Payerbach-Reichenau: . . .

Telegraphen-Adressen:
EDLACHERHOF, EDLACH
INTERURBAN TELEPHON
EDLACH Nr. 1
A. S. Post- und Telegraphen-Bezirkamt

Edlach, 9 Juni 1904

Meine theure gute Mama,
heute Gottlob die zweite
gute Nacht gehabt, Appetit
vortreflich, Befinden zusehrend
besser.
Ich schreibe principiell nicht
einmal die auch nur eine
Zeile, nur zum Geburtstag
meines unbekannten getrockneten
goldenen Arztes will ich
die und des Glück wünschen,
zu vielen kommenden
Freuden
Sie immer zärtlich
Ihr treuer Sohn
Theodor

Facsimile of Herzl's last letter to his mother.



Theodor Herzl's funeral.

Herzl's tomb in Vienna.



Herzl's widow.



THE HOMECOMING OF HERZL

The coffin with Herzl's remains was borne by Israeli Army and Navy officers into the courtyard of the Jewish Agency in the presence of representatives of the State of Israel and the Jewish Agency: (from left to right) Rabbi Dr. Israel Goldstein, David Ben-Gurion, Berl Locker, Meir Grossman, Eliahu Dobkin, Mrs. Ben-Gurion, Rav Aluf Dori, and Dr. L. Lauterbach.

daily as literary editor. Although his chief, Bacher, would not allow anything about Zionism to appear in the paper, he asked Herzl if he would write a feuilleton on Constantinople, whereupon Herzl tartly replied that his experiences in the Turkish capital had been of a historic, not of a feuilletonist, nature. Bacher retorted with a guffaw, whereupon the two men parted in a state of irritation. This unpleasant incident was the forerunner of more disagreeable and disturbing conflicts between Herzl and his employers in the succeeding months.

Newlinsky was diligent in his diplomatic efforts and fertile in ideas, but they did not seem to bear fruit. He told Herzl that, before leaving Carlsbad, he had discussed *The Jewish State* with King Milan of Serbia, who had obtained a copy in Paris and had learned from some politicians there that France would be opposed to the project. He suggested that a letter be written to Cardinal Rampolla, the Papal Secretary of State, to prepare an approach to the Pope, Leo XIII—a proposal to which Herzl readily assented. But of greater importance than the news about the King of Serbia or the suggestion in regard to the Cardinal was the request that Newlinsky received from Izzet Bey for specific proposals. Thereupon Herzl instructed Newlinsky to reply that his group would provide the Sultan with a loan of twenty million pounds, to be raised on an annual tribute payable by the autonomous Jewish community in Palestine, beginning with one hundred thousand pounds a year and rising to one million pounds a year. The Sultan should grant free immigration into Palestine, which should increase in proportion to the increase of the tribute, and the Jews should enjoy internationally agreed autonomy in constitutional, administrative, and legal matters in the territory assigned to them. Negotiations should take place in Constantinople, to define

in what manner the Sultan's suzerainty over the Jews should be exercised, and order should be maintained by a defense force formed by the Jews themselves. The project should be inaugurated by an official invitation, previously communicated to the Powers, which should be issued to the Jews of the whole world to return to the land of their forefathers.

Herzl drafted a letter to Sir Samuel Montagu, informing him of all these details and appealing to him to accompany him to Constantinople at the end of September; but when alarming news came from that city that Armenians had made a bomb attack upon the Ottoman Bank, he decided not to send the letter off. On the other hand, he received a letter from de Haas, informing him that there was a rumor in London that an English bank had provided him with two million pounds for the realization of his project. It was followed by other sensational and equally unfounded reports from other quarters.

While reflecting what his next political step should be, Herzl was asked by his chief, early in September, whether he would like to go to Görlitz, near Breslau, as special correspondent for the *Neue Freie Presse*, to write about the German military maneuvers. He readily agreed, as it was announced that the Kaiser would be there, and he asked Hechler to join him, in the hope that he would be helpful in securing the coveted audience. On arriving at the scene of the maneuvers, Herzl concentrated his attention upon the appearance and demeanor of the Emperor. He took particular note of his withered left arm, which was really like that of a child (never having grown with the rest of his body) and was carefully hidden by his military cloak. Herzl's reason for studying his mien and bearing was that he should not be embarrassed when he was at last admitted to the royal presence: he derived confidence from the

thought of his Imperial Majesty as "a helpless man" beneath his martial trappings, and concluded that he would win him over if he only succeeded in being allowed to speak to him. His hopes were somewhat raised when Hechler told him that he was a friend of Duke Günther von Schleswig-Holstein, who was also present. But after Hechler had a talk with the Duke and reported that he refused to pass on to the Kaiser a letter which he offered him, those hopes were dispelled.

On returning to Vienna, Herzl received a further communication from Zadok Kahn, conveying a renewed complaint from Baron de Rothschild's agent, Scheid, about some Jewish colonists having been expelled from a colony in Palestine. He replied that Scheid's reports were untrue and expressed himself as aggrieved because of the Baron's frigid attitude toward him. "I don't live from Zionism," he wrote, "but for it. I bring sacrifices of all kinds, which, in proportion to my means, are certainly not less than those of Rothschild." At the same time, Herzl received a note from a correspondent in Jerusalem, Wilhelm Gross, denying that his political efforts were proving harmful to the colonists in Palestine. Herzl wrote back and asked him to form a committee to make a thorough investigation of the position and to forward Herzl their report.

3

Meanwhile, a change in the political situation in Vienna had taken place, in consequence of the reconciliation of the Prime Minister, Count Badeni, with the anti-Semitic Bürgomaster Lueger. This reconciliation provoked a sharp attack from the *Neue Freie Presse*, whereupon Badeni again considered it urgently necessary to have a paper at his dis-

posal to defend his policy. He again thought of Herzl as the only man suitable to be its editor, and sent his confidant, Dr. Kozmian, to find out what Herzl would want for his support. Herzl replied: "No money, only help from the Austrian Government for my Zionist policy." Kozmian told him that Badeni would be glad to receive him at any time, and left him to think the matter over. For some months past, Herzl had been discussing the question of founding a new paper with his friend, Dessauer, the director of a bank, who told him that his bank would be willing to participate in such a venture financially. But in the end, Dessauer backed out, leaving Herzl embarrassed. He then thought of starting a new paper himself, half of the capital to be provided by himself and some relatives; but he did not wish to see Badeni until the whole of the requisite capital was assured.

While this project was hanging fire, Herzl had further unpleasant exchanges with his chiefs. Early in October, he asked Benedikt if he were now more favorably disposed to Zionism in view of the increasing attention that his project was arousing, a question that he was prompted to put by the growing strength of the anti-Semites. Benedikt replied that the *Neue Freie Presse* must adhere to the German liberal standpoint, and he regarded the Jewish national movement as a misfortune. This unfriendly response aroused in Herzl the fear that there were again difficult days before him, and he wrote in his Diary:

There are again continued tensions in my life's romance. Perhaps the movement will now fling me out of my secure position on the *Neue Freie Presse* and into adventures to which I look forward, on account of my family, not without anxiety.²

² *Tagebücher*, vol. I, p. 546.

A few days later, Bacher called him into his room and confronted him with the statement that when he was in Constantinople he had demanded a subvention of three thousand pounds from the Turkish Government for the *Neue Freie Presse* and had actually received it. Bacher added that they had been confidentially informed of this by the Austrian Foreign Office and the President of the Austrian Chamber of Commerce in Constantinople. Herzl expressed his astonishment that even a moment's credence had been given to such a fantastic story: he thought that Bacher regarded him at least as a gentleman. Thereupon his chief replied that they believed that Newlinsky had taken advantage of Herzl's visit to Constantinople to get some money from the Turks for himself. Herzl replied that he would investigate the affair and that he was quite willing to relate everything that had happened in the Turkish capital, if only he were allowed to use the *Neue Freie Presse* for Zionism. But Bacher was adamant: he was altogether against any Jewish emigration; for him there was no Jewish question—only a question of humanity.

Herzl then went to Benedikt, who said that they had never had any suspicion against him and the best way in which to explode the whole story was to publish a violent article against Turkey. Herzl asked to be allowed to write a series of articles on the Jewish question, but met with a refusal. So incensed was he by the scurrilous slander, which he thought had been fabricated and circulated to undermine his position, that he contemplated challenging the Foreign Office official who had originated it to a duel; but Bacher intervened to smooth matters over and shook Herzl by the hand as a mark of goodwill. Nevertheless Herzl wrote:

I have the impression that they will soon push me out of the

paper by force. It would be a catastrophe, as the financial plans for founding my paper have failed.³

His next step was to write to Zadok Kahn, suggesting that the directors of the Jewish Colonization Association, at their forthcoming meeting in Paris, should decide to found or buy big papers both in London and Paris to advocate the Zionist cause.

The feeling of depression that gripped him at this stage found utterance in the following entry in his Diary (October 13, 1896):

I must confess it frankly to myself: I am demoralized. Help from no side, attacks from all sides. Nordau writes me from Paris that nobody there is stirring any more. The Maccabaeans in London are ever more Pickwickian, if I may believe the reports of my trusty de Haas. In Germany I have only opponents. The Russians are watching sympathetically how I am toiling away, but no one helps. In Austria, particularly in Vienna, I have only a few supporters. Those of them who are not interested are quite inactive; those who are active only want to push themselves forward through an editor of the *Neue Freie Presse*. And now comes this campaign of slander. . . . The Jews who are well off are all my opponents. So I begin to have the right to be the greatest of all anti-Semites.⁴

On the same day that he wrote this entry, he called on the Turkish Ambassador, who handed him the official document certifying that he had been awarded the Medjidiye Order. In the talk that followed, Herzl urged that Turkey could be saved only by an agreement with the Jews about Palestine; whereupon the Ambassador said that he fully agreed but had no influence in Constantinople.

³ *Tagebücher*, vol. I, p. 551.

⁴ *Tagebücher*, vol. I, pp. 553-554.

4

Among the false reports then in circulation which contributed to Herzl's annoyance was one that was copied from the Galician paper, *Dziennik Polski*, by the *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*. It stated that a distinguished Zionist leader in Lemberg had received a letter from Herzl with the news that an English millionaire intended sacrificing one hundred fifty million gulden (about thirty million dollars) for the restoration of the Kingdom of Palestine, but that the millionaire first wanted proof that the Jews in Galicia were really willing to emigrate to Palestine. The reading of this letter had caused scenes of excitement at a meeting of the Zionist Executive of Galicia, some members of which expressed doubt about Herzl's love of the truth and insisted upon first seeing the original letter of the English Croesus. Herzl wasted little time in refuting this legend, as he was preoccupied with more important matters. He was trying to secure an audience with the Tsar of Russia, in preparation for which a Russian translation of his brochure had just been published. He wrote to de Haas to find out whether Sir Samuel Montagu and Colonel Goldsmid would be willing to accept an invitation from the Sultan to submit proposals to him in Constantinople. And he was again approached by Kozmian, on behalf of the Prime Minister, with the request to establish a great daily paper.

"What do you want for this mighty service?" asked Kozmian bluntly. "Say it plainly. What do you want for yourself, and what for the Jews? If it isn't money, do you want an office, a title, a distinction?"

Herzl replied that there could not be any question of an office if he was to found a paper, though Newlinsky had suggested he should receive a decoration, such as the Order

of the Iron Crown. "But the principal thing," he continued, "is to give something to the Jews—for instance, a word from the Emperor. After conferring this distinction upon me, he should receive me and say some good things for the Jews, and authorize me to publish them."

Thereupon Kozmian said that the Emperor had nothing against the Jews but could not be brought into the matter. However, he would talk it over with Count Badeni, who would certainly give him the Iron Crown. Meanwhile, Herzl said that he would consult his friends about what they should demand. He therefore discussed the matter with Dr. Grünfeld, President of the *Israelitische Union*, who had invited him to address a public meeting under its auspices, and pointed out that, through the establishment of a paper with Government support, they would be able to form a Jewish party. But the efforts to raise the requisite capital, of which Herzl and his family were prepared to provide a substantial part, were all in vain.

The meeting that he addressed on November 7 was the first occasion on which he spoke in public to the Jews in Vienna, and general interest was shown by the crowded hall, although the Union was a non-Zionist (if not actually an anti-Zionist) body. Herzl no longer spoke of a Jewish State, apart from merely mentioning it in his first sentence, as he had learned to be discreet in his public statements. He dwelt mainly upon the reasons for the need of a mass immigration into Palestine and the conditions for obtaining autonomy for the Jews in that country under Turkish suzerainty. He also touched on the efforts that were being made by a combined Russo-French group to conclude a financial arrangement with Turkey, as that would bar the way of the Jews to Palestine. "The Jewish big banks that are cooperating in this," he declared, "without regard to the sufferings

of the poor Jews, and without utilizing the opportunity to contribute to the solution of the Jewish question, will bear a heavy responsibility." At the conclusion of his speech, which he described as a "tempestuous success," he was thanked by Dr. Grünfeld for having explained what had hitherto been regarded as a Utopia.

The impression produced by this meeting had a heartening effect upon the group of leading Zionists in Vienna who used to meet regularly every Tuesday evening in the Café Louvre. They formed the Executive Committee of the Zionist party and consisted of the physician Dr. Moritz Schnirer, the lawyer Dr. Oser Kokesch, the English scholar Dr. Leon Kellner, the industrialist Johann Kremenetzky, the engineer Seidener, the author York-Steiner, and a few others. Herzl had begun to take part in the gatherings of this Committee in the summer of 1896, and on September 1 he was formally offered and accepted the position of Chief. He did his utmost to impart a sense of urgency and reality to the weekly discussions by reporting on the latest steps that he had taken and insisting upon the necessity of unifying all the Zionist societies in Austria and improving their organization. He also wrote to Adolf Stand, the Zionist leader in Lemberg, to bring about a similar unification in Galicia. The increasing volume of correspondence, especially with persons in other countries, in which he had to engage made it necessary for him to open a regular bureau, which soon became a place of pilgrimage for those who were seriously concerned about the Zionist idea.

5

Among all who called to see the author of *The Jewish State* during the first few months after its publication, by

far the most important was David Wolffsohn (1856–1914), who was destined to succeed him as President of the Zionist Organization. Wolffsohn had originated from a totally different milieu and had an entirely different upbringing. Born in the Lithuanian townlet of Dorbiany, the son of a poor Talmudical scholar, he received little beyond a traditional Jewish education as his preparation for life. It was to his father, Rabbi Eisik, who piously looked forward to the coming of the Messiah as the redeemer of the Holy Land, that he owed his earliest Zionist promptings, and these were strengthened when he went as a youth to Memel, where he came under the inspiring influence of the local Rabbi, Dr. Isaac Rülff, an ardent “Lover of Zion” who wrote a pamphlet on the subject. His Zionist zeal was further stimulated by David Gordon, the editor of the first Hebrew weekly, *Hamaggid*, in whose house at Lyck he lived for some time. After a period of struggle and privation, he was appointed agent for a timber merchant, soon established his own business, and, within a few years, was married and enjoying a position of comfort.

In 1888, as a young man of thirty-two, he settled in Cologne, where he first showed his mettle as a Zionist and a speaker. At the local Jewish literary society, there was a discussion in December, 1892, on the exploits of the Maccabees, when the audience was startled by a speech of pronounced Zionist tenor delivered by a budding lawyer, Dr. Max Bodenheimer, which was reinforced by a more emphatic utterance by the then unknown Wolffsohn. That incident brought the two men together in intimate friendship, and, a few months later, they, with the help of others of like mind, formed a society, *Ezra*, for the furtherance of Jewish agricultural activity in Palestine, after the pattern of the other *Hovevei Zion* societies in Germany. In November, 1893,

Wolffsohn surprised the members of the literary society with an address on Zionism, in which he plainly spoke of "the idea of the restoration of a Jewish State"; and thereafter he engaged in regular correspondence with the leading members of the *Hovevei Zion* in Berlin, Willi Bambus (1863–1904) and Hirsch Hildesheimer (1855–1910), as well as with the headquarters of the movement in Odessa.

It was only natural, therefore, that after David Wolffsohn had read *The Jewish State*, he should be eager to make the acquaintance of its author. He went to Vienna for that purpose in May, 1896, expecting to meet a portly, clean-shaven individual, and was agreeably surprised to be greeted by the dignified and imposing figure of Herzl. "I have come," he said, "to make the acquaintance of the author of *The Jewish State* and to shake him by the hand." Herzl gave him a cordial welcome, introduced him to Zionist friends in his study, and asked him what he thought of the realization of his plan. Wolffsohn replied that that would depend upon the response of the Jews in Russia. Herzl agreed that the Russian Jews would provide the masses to be transferred; whereupon Wolffsohn told him something of their character and achievements and said that they would also expect to take part in the work of realization. As he was about to leave, Wolffsohn said: "Dr. Herzl, I place myself at your disposal with all that I am and have and—unconditionally. I want to serve you, Dr. Herzl, for you are the man!" Herzl shook him by the hand vigorously and asked him to come again soon.⁵

Wolffsohn kept his pledge faithfully and rendered Herzl invaluable services throughout the stresses and crises of the movement until the leader's death. His absolute devotion found utterance in a letter that he wrote to Herzl some years

⁵ Emil Bernhard Cohn, *David Wolffsohn*, p. 64.

later: "Others follow you when they see that you are right. I follow you even when I am convinced that you are wrong." He immediately realized that there were gaps in Herzl's knowledge of the Jewish people and Jewish life, and especially of East European Jewry and their psychology, and he resolved to make good those deficiencies. After his first visit to Vienna, he went straight to Berlin to report his impressions to Hildesheimer, Bambus, and other friends, and gave so enthusiastic a description of Herzl that they could not help promising that they would send a representative to Vienna to see whether all was true. "But you must pay for it," they said. "Good," replied Wolffsohn, "I shall pay for it." A representative, Dr. Holzmann, went, and thus through Wolffsohn communication was established between Herzl and the *Hovevei Zion* in Berlin and Cologne.

A few weeks after Wolffsohn's first visit to Herzl, there came to Vienna one of the leaders of the Russian *Hovevei Zion*, Menahem Ussishkin (1863-1941), an engineer by profession, who was also destined to play a very distinguished part in the movement. He was a leading member of the Odessa Committee and was on his way to Paris to seek help from Baron Edmond de Rothschild for the establishment of a new colony in Palestine. He was induced, rather reluctantly, by Nathan Birnbaum to call on Herzl, "fell under the spell of his handsome appearance and his youthful vigor," and remained for a two-hour talk. When he left, Birnbaum asked him his impressions, to which Ussishkin replied:

He will render great services to the Palestine movement. The charm of his personality will unquestionably attract all Russian Jewry and possibly the Jews of Western Europe as well. He has one great defect, which, however, will prove very useful under present conditions. He knows absolutely nothing about the Jews, and therefore believes that Zionism is confronted by external

obstacles only, and by no internal ones. His eyes must not be opened—then his faith in our cause will be great.⁶

When Wolffsohn visited Herzl the second time, in the middle of November, the two men became more closely drawn to one another than before, and Herzl, who described him in his Diary as "*ein wackerer, sympathischer Mensch*" (a gallant, sympathetic person), confided in him all his plans and negotiations, his hopes and disappointments. He was busy as usual with political moves. He sent the Russian edition of *The Jewish State* (which had been translated into ten languages), with a letter, to the Grand Duke Vladimir of Russia, who was staying in Berlin, and asked for an interview, but received no reply. He dispatched another letter to the Grand Duke of Baden, together with a report of his speech in Vienna, suggesting that he would like an audience with the Kaiser. And he furnished Hechler with the draft of a letter to Lord Salisbury, setting forth his plan for the restoration of Turkey's finances and asking for an interview—which was refused. No wonder that he wrote in his Diary, on December 20, 1896:

I feel that I am growing tired. I now believe more than ever before that my movement is at an end. I am fully convinced of its realizability, but cannot overcome the initial difficulty. One million gulden would be necessary to put the movement firmly on its feet, and this trifle (for so great a cause) is lacking.⁷

He wanted the money for a great daily, for, in his view, with such a paper he could negotiate with governments just as one Power with another. Meanwhile, the stream of visitors continued, prompting him to the thought that "the road from Palestine to Paris is beginning to go through my room."

⁶ Article by M. M. Ussishkin in *Theodor Herzl: A Memorial*.

⁷ *Tagebücher*, vol. I, p. 577.

One of these visitors was Schoub, from Palestine, "a big, long-bearded man with glowing eyes," whom he asked to speak to the Sultan's Jewish doctor. Another, Dr. D'Arbela, Director of the Rothschild Hospital in Jerusalem, spoke to him of Palestine as a magnificent country. Levin-Epstein, the administrator of the colony of Rehovoth, told him that it was Scheid who was spreading false reports, so as to have an excuse for the failure of the settlement in the Hauran, which had been bought with baksheesh. And Sidney Whitman, the London representative of the *New York Herald*, who boasted of his friendship with the Sultan and Bismarck, would come day after day and sit for hours, and proposed writing about *The Jewish State* and the Jewish question in his paper. In the midst of these preoccupations, Herzl conceived the idea of getting one or two prominent Zionists elected in Galicia to the Austrian Parliament, and when they declined, he was himself offered a choice of three Jewish constituencies, but he likewise refused, as he did not wish to be involved in local politics.

6

Early in 1897, after an interval of about a year and a half, he again had a talk with Chief Rabbi Dr. Güdemann in the latter's home. He found that this religious dignitary, with whom he had previously discussed the ideas in his pamphlet and who had lavished eulogies upon him, had now fundamentally changed in his attitude. After a heated argument, Güdemann refused to preach on Zionism in his synagogue, and Herzl left abruptly. Several weeks later, they met in the street by chance and there was further argument. The Chief Rabbi said that he would not run away from the anti-Semites and declared that it was the duty of the Jews to continue

living in dispersion throughout the world to spread the "Mission of Judaism." The climax in their relations came shortly afterward with the publication by Güdemann of a hostile pamphlet against Herzl's plan, entitled *National-Judentum*, which stung Herzl to a slashing and ironical reply in Bloch's *Oesterreichische Wochenschrift*.⁸ He reminded the Chief Rabbi that he had read the proofs of *The Jewish State* more than a year before and had returned them with the remark: "I have read all and find nothing to criticize." He taunted him with flagrant inconsistency in praying daily for the return to Zion and publicly opposing the efforts for its fulfillment.

Thwarted in all his political endeavors, Herzl came to the conclusion by early spring of 1897 that the only way to make any advance was to organize a Congress, to be attended by Zionists from many countries, so that he could obtain their moral and material support and also whatever counsel they might be able to provide. After an exchange of correspondence with the *Hovevei Zion* in Berlin and other cities, there were assembled on March 6, in Vienna, Willi Bambus and Birnbaum from Berlin, Dr. M. Moses from Kattowitz, the author Isaac Turoff (1855–1929) from Breslau, Dr. Salz from Tarnow, Dr. Marcus Ehrenpreis from Diakovar (Chief Rabbi of Bulgaria, 1900–14 and Chief Rabbi of Sweden, 1914–51), and Dr. Osias Thon from Lemberg (one of the founders of the Young Israel students' society in Berlin), later Rabbi in Cracow. The members of the Executive Committee in Vienna were, of course, also present. Of all the representatives from the other cities, the most important was Bambus, who showed a tendency to take control. He reported that at the last meeting of the Jewish Colonization Association in Paris, Zadok Kahn had, indeed, submitted Herzl's suggestion that they

⁸ April 23, 1897.

should purchase newspapers in London and in Paris, whereupon the English members of the Council—Claude Montefiore, Herbert Lousada, and Alfred Cohen—declared that if the proposal were persisted in they would leave the meeting. On Sunday, March 7, a Conference was held in the rooms of the Zionist Association in Vienna, and it was resolved to hold a general Zionist Congress in Munich. This city was chosen because it would be convenient for delegates from Russia and also because it had kosher restaurants. An organization commission, with Herzl as chairman, was appointed to carry out the arrangements.

No sooner did this decision become known in other countries than attempts were made to prevent its fulfillment. Early in April, Herzl received a letter from de Haas, informing him that Colonel Goldsmid had sent for him and begged him not to go to the Congress, so as to avoid a split in the English *Hovevei Zion*. Herzl replied that de Haas and his friends should go ahead with their arrangements to attend. He also received a letter from Goldsmid himself, confirming what de Haas had written, and urging him to join the *Hovevei Zion*. Herzl promptly answered that the holding of the Congress was a definite decision, from which he could no longer go back, and that it was also a necessity. He wrote:

I have waited long enough. In August it will be two years since I first undertook the first practical steps in the Jewish question. I wanted to do it without exciting the masses, from above, with the men who have hitherto been prominent in Zionism. I was not understood nor supported. I had to go forward alone. At the Congress in Munich I shall call upon the masses to proceed to help themselves, since nobody else will help them.⁹

⁹ *Tagebücher*, vol. I, p. 609.

He concluded by again stating that if Baron Edmond, Montagu, Goldsmid, and anybody else would promise to carry out the plan he had initiated in Constantinople, he would retire from the leadership forever. On the other hand, if they declined and no money was forthcoming from the rich, then it would come from "all noble, courageous, intelligent and educated elements of our people."

Herzl's attention was momentarily diverted by the Greco-Turkish War, which broke out in the middle of April. He seized the opportunity of manifesting Jewish sympathy for Turkey by organizing a fund in Austria and Germany for the benefit of the Turkish wounded, and some young Zionist doctors volunteered their services on the battlefield. Herzl wrote to the Turkish Ambassador in Vienna to inform him of these steps, and also to Sidney Whitman, who was in Constantinople and went to Yildiz Kiosk daily. But the war was short-lived, as the Powers intervened, and Turkey benefited by a substantial indemnity from Greece.

As soon as Herzl could devote himself again to the Congress preparations, he had to deal with a note from Bambus, who wrote that he was sending a correction to some Jewish papers which had published an announcement from Herzl about the Congress. Herzl immediately responded by demanding that Bambus should rescind his correction; he now realized that there was a fundamental difference of opinion between them as to the purpose of the Congress. Bambus and Hildesheimer understood that it would be limited to a discussion of relief work in Palestine, especially colonization, and refused to take part in a Congress that would deal with Zionist theories and political plans. They therefore withdrew and decided that the *Hovevei Zion* in Berlin should not take part, but Wolffsohn strongly opposed them and secured the adherence of other philo-Zionists in the German capital, as

well as of those in Cologne and other cities. Annoyed by the attacks and criticisms to which he was subjected within the Zionist fold, and also by his dependence on the whims of Dr. Joseph Bloch for every little announcement or correction that he wanted inserted in his *Wochenschrift*, Herzl decided that he must have a paper of his own, and since it could not be a daily, it must be a weekly. He asked his father (whom he frequently consulted) if he agreed, and as he assented, Herzl resolved to issue the journal with his own money and his own work. He inquired whether the members of the Zionist Executive would take part in the venture, but none of them would, except one who was prepared to write articles for payment. They agreed on the name—*Die Welt*.

While busily engaged on the task of producing the new paper, Herzl was conducting correspondence with Whitman, who wrote that he would submit Herzl's plan to the Sultan himself and expected that his future would be assured in return for his services. Herzl gave him a pledge to this effect, which, he said, would be redeemed one day by grateful Jews, but he could not promise him money, any more than he could make such a promise to Newlinsky. Whitman informed him that he had interested Ahmed Midhat Effendi, the Sultan's favorite, who advised him not to ask for too much nor to use the word "autonomy," so that the Sultan should not say "No." Herzl wrote him two letters: one in German, promising him the reward; and the other in French, explaining his plan for submission to the Sultan and inviting him to send a delegate to the forthcoming Congress. Whitman replied that he had read Herzl's letter to Midhat, who would devote himself to the cause body and soul "on the express condition that he never accepts a penny for his services," and added that a delegate would be sent to the Congress. Herzl wrote again that Whitman should advise the Sultan

that he was prepared to come to Constantinople in a few weeks.

7

At last, after feverish labors, in which Herzl had to attend to every detail, *Die Welt* made its first appearance on June 6. It had the "Shield of David" ¹⁰ between the two words of the title and had a yellow cover, the color chosen by medieval despots for the Jewish badge of shame, but which was now elevated to be a symbol of honor. He glowed with triumph, and sent the first copy to his father. But the *Neue Freie Presse* gave him no peace. He had to force himself into the mood to write a Whitsuntide feuilleton for the paper. He was now primarily concerned, however, about the success of *Die Welt*, and he therefore had a half-page advertisement about it printed in the *Neue Freie Presse* (without the editor's previous knowledge), which cost him three pounds. The sequel was a leading article in the semi-official *Reichswehr*, attacking the new paper and headed "Benedictus I, King of Zion." To find himself treated as a Zionist made Benedikt furious. Herzl was prepared for a fight and even for dismissal. There were angry scenes between them, but they calmed down and Benedikt gave him a lift home in his carriage.

A few days later, however, the war broke out again, owing to a bitter attack by Schoenerer's *Ostdeutsche Rundschau* on the *Neue Freie Presse*. Benedikt declared that *Die Welt* was a great embarrassment to him and it would be best if it ceased to appear. He told Herzl that he must not go on leave until he gave him a definite reply about this, and that he would not regret it if he took his advice. Herzl remained inflexible. On June 23, Benedikt subjected him to a renewed harangue,

¹⁰ The traditional Jewish symbol (*Magen David*), consisting of two inter-twined equilateral triangles.

and then tried to cajole him. "Be a *bon garçon!*" he said. "Don't be obstinate. *Soyez bon prince.* What do you get from *Die Welt*? You are doing yourself harm! On the *Neue Freie Presse* you can make the greatest career. You can achieve everything."¹¹

Herzl remained silent. Again Benedikt implored, promised, threatened. Herzl asked for time to think it over, and felt that the breach with the *Neue Freie Presse* would take place within the next few days, as he would not give up *Die Welt*.

The next day, he asked for leave and said that he would let Benedikt have an answer by July 1. Benedikt replied: "Don't write to me. I'm convinced you will follow my advice." Herzl said that he was going to Ischl for a holiday and would send some feuilletons from there, as he was too upset to write in Vienna. Again Benedikt rejoined: "You promise me that you will stop *Die Welt*." Herzl promised nothing, but mutely shook his head.

Meanwhile, Whitman had returned from Constantinople. He admitted that he had not seen the Sultan, only Ahmed Midhat, to whom he suggested that Herzl should write direct. He had also spoken in Bucharest to Prime Minister Stourdza about Zionism, of which he was in favor, and an interview would appear in the *New York Herald*. Accordingly, Herzl wrote to the Sultan's favorite in the same terms and with the same arguments that he had so often used. He also sent him a copy of *Die Welt*, and said that he would be glad to publish in it anything that he would send him.

The preparations for the Zionist Congress sustained a sudden jolt when the Council of the Jewish Community of Munich made an official protest against its being held in that city. The Zionist Executive in Vienna countered by

¹¹ *Tagebücher*, vol. II, p. 10.

announcing that the Congress would take place in Basle. The fight was then taken up by the Executive of the Union of Rabbis in Germany, who, headed by Dr. Sigmund Maybaum (1844–1919), of Berlin, published a solemn pronunciamento in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, in which the Congress was denounced as being contrary to the principles of Judaism, to the Messianic prophecies in Holy Writ, and to the duty of loyalty to one's fatherland. Their attitude was supported by the Chief Rabbi of English Jewry, Dr. Hermann Adler (1839–1911), who in a sermon stigmatized Zionism as "an egregious blunder." Herzl replied to all these attacks with a brilliant article in *Die Welt*, entitled *Protest-Rabbiner*, in which he scathingly refuted the charges made in the pronunciamento and stressed that whenever these Rabbis spoke of Zion they meant anything but Zion. On the other hand, he pointed out, there were many Rabbis with a different view—Samuel Mohilewer in Bialystok, Zadok Kahn in Paris, Isaac Rülff in Memel, Moses Gaster in London, and many others—for whom he felt the deepest reverence.

By the middle of August he was back again in Vienna. The manifold tasks involved in organizing the Congress and running *Die Welt*, in addition to his daily journalistic work, began to exhaust his strength. He was anxious that the Congress should be a success and be representative. He had already received reports from New York that meetings in support of his movement had been held there and in other cities, and was particularly pleased that a conference of Rabbis, under the chairmanship of Dr. Gustav Gottheil (1827–1903), had declared themselves in favor of his aims. He wrote a cordial letter to Colonel Goldsmid inviting him to Basle; he heard from Berlin that Bambus would be there after all; and from Constantinople he had news from Newlinsky that he was commissioned to go to the Congress so as

to report to the Sultan. He put in extra work for the *Neue Freie Presse*, in order to keep his editor in a good mood. The row with him which he had feared would break out (after the scenes with Benedikt) did not take place; but when, on August 23, he asked for the rest of his leave, Bacher agreed that he could be away until September 2, and then told him bluntly that his work on *Die Welt* must cease.¹² Herzl replied that he had only signed one article in that paper, whereupon Bacher said: "But now you must stop. You are surely an author, you are surely a sensible person."

They parted as friends, and Herzl now turned his thoughts entirely to the Congress. He reflected that if it resulted in the Powers taking the question seriously, he would continue to work for it. But if not, and if the very wealthy Jews showed no inclination to support the movement that he had brought so far with such great personal and material sacrifices, then he would retire from the scene.

¹² *Die Welt* continued to appear regularly every week until the beginning of the First World War.

IX

The First Two Congresses

HERZL TRAVELED TO BASLE, WHERE THE FIRST ZIONIST CONGRESS was to open on August 29, 1897, in a whirl of emotions. He had done everything humanly possible by voluminous correspondence with hundreds of supporters of his idea in many countries, and also by means of the press, to insure that the Congress would be well attended by persons eager to advance his plan, for he felt that all further progress depended upon that event. He was naturally elated by the thought that it was the first time, after more than eighteen hundred years of dispersion throughout the world, that Jews had been called together to deliberate upon measures for their rehabilitation as a nation, and he was likewise keenly conscious of the snares and pitfalls that he had to circumvent in order to pass the first landmark on the road to his goal. Among those whom he expected at Basle, he was particularly anxious about Hechler and Newlinsky, whom he had invited to attend at his own expense. He did not wish them to become acquainted with one another, as he feared that if they did, and exchanged information, they might realize the poverty of his material resources or the dimness of his political prospects, and consequently desert him.

The task of presiding over the deliberations seemed to him a peculiarly difficult feat, the ingenuity of which only he could appreciate. With a blend of political perspicuity and artistic imagination, he envisaged it as "an egg-dance

among all invisible eggs," which he enumerated in his Diary¹ as follows:

1. Egg of the *Neue Freie Presse*, which I dare not compromise, and which I dare not give any excuse for sacking me.
2. Egg of the Orthodox.
3. Egg of the Moderns.
4. Egg of Austrian patriotism.
5. Egg of Turkey, of the Sultan.
6. Egg of the Russian Government, against which nothing unpleasant may be said, although one must surely mention the deplorable situation of the Russian Jews.
7. Egg of the Christian denominations, because of the Holy Places.

To these he added a few more "eggs"—those of Edmond de Rothschild, of the *Hovevei Zion* in Russia, of the colonists in Palestine whose help from Rothschild should not be affected, as well as "the eggs of personal differences, of envy and jealousy." "It is," he wrote, "one of the labors of Hercules—without exaggeration—for I have no more liking for the thing."

Immediately on arrival in Basle, Herzl put up at the Hotel Drei Könige, overlooking the Rhine, at which many of his friends also stayed, and which became the recognized headquarters of the leaders of the movement at all the following Zionist Congresses held in that city. He then attended to the final preparations. He found that the office which the municipal authorities had placed at the disposal of the Congress Secretariat was a tailor's shop that had just been vacated, and he therefore had the sign above the window covered with cloth to prevent any flippant comments. The place that had been taken for the Congress sessions seemed quite unsuitable, as it was a common music hall, and he there-

¹ *Tagebücher*, vol. II, pp. 21-22.

fore hired the more dignified Stadt-Casino, an austere concert hall, over the entrance to which was displayed a large blue-white banner bearing the words *Zionisten-Kongress*. In and near the Stadt-Casino, there began to swarm groups of Jews from a score of lands, as varied in physiognomy and physique as in attire, and all absorbed in animated conversation. The majority were from Central and Eastern Europe, but there were also several from Western countries—France, England, and the United States—and two from Palestine. Although speaking different languages, they soon found a common tongue, and the initial strangeness or shyness was quickly dispelled by the dominant idea and the common enthusiasm that united them all. They represented all gradations of social strata and comprised all shades of thought. There were Ashkenazim and Sephardim, Orthodox and Reform Jews, Rabbis and freethinkers, veteran philo-Zionists and newly converted nationalists, *bourgeois* and Socialists, businessmen and intellectuals, artisans and students; but their differences of origin, status, and outlook were submerged by one single emotion—an inexpressible feeling of ecstasy that they had lived to enjoy a historic experience of unique and far-reaching significance. In all, there were 204² delegates (including fourteen women) representing philo-Zionist societies and similar bodies; but there were also several hundred onlookers, including some Christian friends, besides press correspondents from London, New York, Paris, Berlin, Budapest, and other cities on the Continent.

Anxious to omit no detail that might contribute toward success, Herzl attended the synagogue service on the Sabbath

² The number given by Herzl himself (*Tagebücher*, vol. II, p. 37), although the list at the end of the stenographic report of the Congress has the names of only 196 who took part, besides three guests.

morning before the opening session, was called up to the reading of the Law, and pronounced the benedictions, in which he had been coached by a friend. "When I went up to the 'altar' (precentor's dais)," he afterward wrote, "I was more excited than on all the days of the Congress. The few words of the Hebrew blessing caused me more trepidation than my inaugural address and concluding speech and the entire direction of the proceedings." He was resolved to give the opening session a festive character by wearing evening dress and a white tie, although it was forenoon, and asked his friends to do likewise. When he saw that Nordau was setting out in a frock coat, he begged him to do him the favor of also donning evening attire, so as to impart an impressive aspect to the Praesidium of the Congress.

After three raps with a gavel by the secretary, the proceedings were opened by the senior delegate, Dr. Karl Lippe, of Jassy, a veteran leader in the *Hovevei Zion* movement, who concluded his speech by proposing that a message of loyalty be dispatched to the Sultan—a proposal that was adopted with acclamation. Then followed thunderous applause as his place was taken by the tall and picturesque figure of Theodor Herzl, looking more regal than many a king. He spoke calmly and clearly and with dignity, concerned more to give a lucid presentation of his views than to indulge in a histrionic declamation.

He began by setting forth the purpose of the Congress as the laying of the foundation stone of the house that would one day give shelter to the Jewish nation. At this time, otherwise so advanced, they saw and felt themselves surrounded by the old hatred known only too well as anti-Semitism. He made no reference to his epoch-making pamphlet, nor were its contents discussed, either at that or at any succeeding Congress in his lifetime. He declared that Zion-

ism had united the scattered limbs of Jewry upon a national basis and that it meant "the return to Judaism even before the return to the Jewish land." They would discuss the question of an organization, the necessity of which everybody saw, but Zionists "wished for the solution of the Jewish question not an international union but international discussion." So great a people's movement must be tackled from all sides, but the spiritual life of the Jews always needed less attention than their physical welfare. This had been shown by the colonization efforts in Palestine and Argentina, of which they could never speak except with genuine gratitude. But that formed only the first, not the last, word of the Zionist movement, which must be greater if it was to exist at all. A people could only help themselves, and Zionists wished to urge the people to help themselves. The immigration of the Jews into Palestine "would signify an access of strength of unexpected plenitude for the now poor country," but their movement would pursue a reasonable course only if they aimed at guarantees based on public law. The settlement of the Jews would also result in an improvement of the position of the Christians in the East, and through their exodus from certain countries where the Government was troubled by a Jewish question, they would actually be the powers of peace. In conclusion, Herzl pointed out that the Congress must provide for its own perpetuation by "creating for the Jewish people an organ that it had hitherto not had, but that it urgently needed for its own life." It was a historic yet matter-of-fact speech, and was received by renewed and prolonged applause.

Herzl was followed by Max Nordau, who gave a masterly address in which he presented a vivid portrayal of the general conditions of the Jews, emphasizing their political plight and economic straits in the East and their moral distress in

the West, all of which the Congress would seek to remedy. Nordau was a brilliant speaker, who always carefully prepared his speech in advance (using only a few notes in the palm of his hand as aids to memory), and his critical survey of the disquieting position of Jewry was an attractive feature of the opening sessions of several subsequent Congresses. Herzl wrote of him: "He spoke splendidly. His speech is and remains a monument of our times."

2

The Praesidium of the Congress consisted of Herzl as President and Nordau as First Vice-President, with several members as assessors and secretaries. The latter acted as translators of the German resolutions, which were rendered into Russian, Yiddish, English, and French, as well as of some speeches from one language into others. Herzl soon showed that he was not only a gifted writer but also an able and efficient chairman, capable of presiding over the keen debates that took place later over questions of policy, procedure, and organization. He gave striking proof of the lessons that he had learned during the four years that he had attended the discussions in the Palais Bourbon, and he impressed the delegates not only with his tact and efficiency but also with his skill and firmness in keeping speakers to the point. Nordau was followed by a succession of *Rapporteurs*, who gave accounts of conditions in their respective countries (particularly Austria, Galicia, Bukowina, Hungary, Bulgaria, England, and Algeria), and by experts who read papers on aspects of Jewish national and economic life, or the colonization of Palestine and modern Hebrew literature. Dr. Nathan Birnbaum, one of the founders of the *Kadimah*, gave an address on Jewish culture. Much enthusiasm was

aroused by proposals submitted by the graybearded Professor Hermann Shapira (1840–1898), of Heidelberg University, for the raising of a Jewish national fund of ten million pounds by voluntary contributions for the purchase of land in Palestine and also for the creation there of a *Hochschule* (advanced school), which he carefully distinguished from a university.

The two main achievements of the Congress were the formulation of the Zionist Program and the establishment of the Zionist Organization. For the drafting of the Program, a sub-committee of seven, after hours of discussion, unanimously submitted through its chairman, Dr. Nordau, a text whose first and most important paragraph was as follows: "The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a legally secured home in Palestine." A heated debate immediately ensued over the question of the legal security. Some of the delegates, represented by Fabius Schach, of Cologne, and Leo Motzkin (1867–1933), of Berlin, wished that the principle that distinguished the new political Zionism from the previous colonization activity should be clearly emphasized by using the term *völkerrechtlich* ("according to international law"). The draft was therefore referred back to the sub-committee, which decided in favor of Herzl's compromise proposal, *öffentlich-rechtlich* ("according to public law"), which was meant to convey that the Jewish Home should be guaranteed by the constitution of the Ottoman Empire. The Basle Program (as it was commonly called, after its birthplace), was thereupon adopted in the following terms:

The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law.

In order to attain this object the Congress proposes to adopt the following means:

1. The systematic furtherance of the settlement of Palestine with Jewish agriculturists, artisans, and craftsmen.
2. The organization and union of all Jewry by means of suitable local and general institutions in accordance with the laws of the country.
3. The strengthening of Jewish national sentiment and national consciousness.
4. Preparatory steps for obtaining the Government assents that are necessary for achieving the object of Zionism.

The Zionist Organization was built up on the adoption of this Program, the acceptance of which, together with the annual payment of a shekel (one shilling or twenty-five cents), to provide the Executive with their working fund, constituted one a member of the Organization. The payment of the shekel conferred the right to vote for a delegate to the Congress, which was to be the supreme controlling organ of the movement, the ultimate arbiter upon all questions of policy and all important measures to be undertaken in the name of the Organization. The government of this body was entrusted to a General Council (*Actions-Komitee*) of twenty-three members, five of whom must have their permanent residence in Vienna. One of these five was Theodor Herzl, who was elected President of the Organization. The decisions of the Congress had the support not only of those who took part in it, but also of thousands of others in many lands who communicated their adherence in telegrams or letters, while several thousand "petitions" were received from Jews in Rumania, Galicia, and the Bukowina, requesting that they should be registered for early settlement in Palestine on their own responsibility.

Herzl was fully satisfied with the course of the proceedings, which far exceeded his anticipations. He was constantly approached by delegates and others, who asked him all sorts

of things—important and indifferent. “There were always four or five people who spoke to me at once,” he wrote. “It was an enormous mental strain, as everybody had to be given a definite reply. I felt as if I were playing thirty-two games of chess at the same time.”³ At one stage, while Nordau was presiding, he entered the hall from the back to see what it looked like. “The long, green-baize table on the platform, with the elevated seat of the President, the tribune with its green hangings, the stenographers’ and journalists’ table, made such a strong impression upon me that I quickly withdrew in order not to be embarrassed. I afterward understood why I was so calm while all others were excited and confused.”

Of all the kinds of Jews with whom he first came into contact at the Congress, those who made the deepest impression upon him were the Jews from Eastern Europe, particularly those from Russia. He had previously thought of them only as the victims of oppression and the objects of relief: now he learned to regard them in a totally different light.

There rose before us at the Basle Congress a Russian Jewry of such cultural strength that we had not expected. There were about seventy men from Russia who appeared at the Congress, and we can say quite definitely that they represented the views and feelings of the five million Jews in Russia. And how ashamed we felt, who had thought that we were superior to them. All these professors, doctors, lawyers, engineers, manufacturers and merchants are on an educational level that is certainly not inferior to that of the West Europeans. They speak and write on an average two or three modern languages, and that everyone is capable in his particular field is obvious from the hard fight for existence that they have to endure in their country.

³ *Tagebücher*, vol. II, p. 27.

Apart from their individual accomplishments, he was also struck by other qualities of the Russian Jews:

They possess the inner unity which most European Jews have lost. They feel as national Jews, but without the narrow and intolerant national conceit, which, to be sure, in the present situation of the Jews, would hardly be understandable. They are not tormented by any thought of becoming assimilated: their nature is simple and unbroken. . . . They do not assimilate to any other nation, but they are at pains to learn everything good from all peoples. That is how they succeed in being upright and genuine. And yet they are Ghetto-Jews, the only Ghetto-Jews of our time. By looking at them we understood what gave our forefathers in the most difficult times the strength to endure.⁴

But although Herzl regarded the Russian Jews in so favorable a light, at least one of them returned the compliment with an attitude of uncompromising and bitter opposition. It was Asher Ginzberg, better known by his Hebrew pseudonym, Ahad Ha-am (1856–1927). He was the most distinguished of the *Hovevei Zion*, had already visited Palestine twice before the publication of *The Jewish State*, and had elaborated a system of thought known as Cultural Zionism. For him, the primary problem was not the amelioration of the physical or political condition of the Jews by their transfer to Palestine, but the preservation and development in that country of the spirit of Judaism, which, he contended, was disintegrating in the Diaspora. He did not believe that the material distress of the Jews could be eliminated by a Jewish State, even if all rich Jews devoted half of their fortune to it: he was solely concerned with their moral or spiritual plight, which he thought could be alleviated without a State. He attended the Congress in response to a special invitation that Herzl had sent to him at his home in

⁴ *Zionistische Schriften*, pp. 158–159.

Odessa, and had two conversations with him in Basle, one before and the other after the Congress proceedings. On the first occasion, he asked Herzl about the National Fund that he contemplated establishing, and on the second he wished to know on what Herzl based his hopes of obtaining a concession from Turkey. He was dissatisfied with the answers to both questions. He followed the Congress discussions with an air of critical detachment and summed up his conclusions in the statement that "Israel will not be redeemed by diplomats but by prophets." Thereafter, because of their fundamental differences, Ahad Ha-am conducted an unrelenting war against Herzl and his activities in his Hebrew monthly, *Hashiloah*, and did not attend another Zionist Congress until seven years after its founder's death, when the control of the movement had passed into the hands of men in general sympathy with his views.

On the other hand, the Congress made at least one notable convert among those who had come as critical skeptics or outright opponents. It was the Rabbi of Basle, Dr. Cohn, who, at the end of the concluding session, made a speech in which he explained his previous antipathy as due to a fear that the orthodox would be suppressed in the Jewish State and compelled to desecrate the Sabbath. Herzl immediately reassured him that Zionism would do nothing to violate the religious conviction of any group; and after Professor Max Mandelstamm, of Kiev, had expressed warmest thanks to the organizers of the Congress and, above all, to the bold and far-sighted man who had brought them together from all parts of the world, the delegates dispersed in a scene of enthusiastic jubilation.

3

On Herzl's return to Vienna, he wrote in his Diary: ⁵ "If I were to sum up the Basle Congress in one word—which I shall not do openly—it would be this: at Basle I founded the Jewish State. If I were to say this today, I would be greeted by universal laughter. In five years, perhaps, and certainly in fifty, everyone will see it. The State is already founded, in essence, in the will of the people to the State." Never was a political prophecy of such importance fulfilled with such astonishing punctuality.

But although Herzl maintained a discreet demeanor when he was back again in the office of the *Neue Freie Presse* on September 2, some of his colleagues greeted him with laughter, as though he had been engaged in some ridiculous folly. Bacher saw to it that no mention whatever of the Congress should appear in his paper, although the *Neues Wiener Tageblatt* even had two leading articles on it; but Bacher had collected reports from many Swiss papers, which he had stuffed into a sidepocket, and he sat at his desk in such a way that Herzl should not see them.

The Congress had apparently aroused some apprehension in Papal circles, as the Italian and French press announced that the Vatican had issued an encyclical protesting against "the proposed seizing by the Jews of the Holy Places," and the London *Daily News* reported from Rome that the Pope had summoned his Apostolic delegate in Constantinople, Bonetti, to discuss measures against the Zionist movement. Herzl thereupon wrote to the Apostolic Nuncio in Vienna, Emigidius Taliani, asking for an interview, and stating that the reports of the Congress in the papers were misrepresentations and misleading. He received a card from the Nuncio's

⁵ *Tagebücher*, vol. II, p. 24.

secretary with the curt message that the visiting hours were from ten to twelve every day, but when he called, the Nuncio's Chamberlain said to him: "You are quite unknown to his Excellency. Come when Monsignor Montagnini is here." What seemed to threaten to develop into an incident soon passed off quite calmly. The *Politische Korrespondenz* wrote that the Curia had not taken any diplomatic steps regarding the Zionist Congress and would not do so in future. Moreover, Newlinsky, with whom Herzl for the first time became seriously annoyed because he had gone to Paris to see Baron Edmond de Rothschild on his own account, expiated his offense by writing two articles in his *Correspondance de l'Est*—one for the purpose of allaying the apprehensions of the Vatican and the other to reassure the men of Yildiz Kiosk. A little while later, Herzl agreed to give Newlinsky a subvention of two hundred gulden a month, for which the impecunious diplomat expressed his deepest gratitude. Other press reactions to the Congress were leading articles in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Daily Chronicle*, which urged that a European Conference should be convened to deal with the Jewish question.

Herzl looked upon the Zionist Organization as constituting the "Society of Jews," which he had projected in his pamphlet. He now began to devote himself to planning the creation of a bank, which should serve as the "Jewish Company" outlined in his project. He held formal meetings with his colleagues on the Executive for the purpose of discussing the initial steps to be taken toward this end, besides dealing with political and organizational affairs. He had hitherto covered all the expenses entailed by his activity for the cause out of his own pocket. He now asked his colleagues to provide five thousand gulden (about a thousand dollars) for future work. His request was in vain. He called them the

"Inactions Committee," not only because they would not or could not share in the financial burden but also because they gave him little help in other matters.

He opened his campaign for the bank with a pseudonymous article in *Die Welt*,⁶ early in October, so as to stimulate general discussion, and then addressed himself anew to the effort to be received by the German Emperor. He drafted a letter to him, in which he summarized the purpose and decisions of the Congress, and asked for the privilege of an audience to explain more fully how his proposed solution of the Jewish question would also contribute to the solution of the Eastern question. He sent the letter to the Grand Duke of Baden, with a request that he should forward it with a note of friendly approval; but on the very next day, he read in the papers that the Grand Duke wanted to visit the Tsar of Russia, who happened to be in Darmstadt, and was rebuffed. He was therefore afraid that the Grand Duke, in his discomfiture, would either overlook or omit to take serious notice of his letter. Ten days later, however, he received a reply from the Grand Duke saying that the Kaiser could not grant an audience but would be glad to read Herzl's account of the Congress.

His wish to speak to the Kaiser, to found a bank, and to have a great paper at his disposal, continued to preoccupy and worry him for months. Dr. Max Mandelstamm wrote to him that he was trying to induce a couple of millionaires in Kiev to give a substantial sum for a paper. Herzl and his father were willing to give one hundred thousand gulden if the Russians would make up the total amount to one million gulden, and if the latter were still more generous and helped to provide a capital of two or three million

⁶ Herzl usually wrote under the pseudonym of "Benjamin Zeev" (his Hebrew name).

gulden, Herzl thought it would be possible to buy the *Neue Freie Presse* itself. It was an alluring dream, the realization of which would make him powerful and independent. It would at least save him the repetition of a further wrangle that he had when Bacher exploded on reading a provocative article in Bloch's *Wochenschrift* on Herzl's relations with the *Neue Freie Presse*. But unfortunately the dream proved a mere will-o'-the-wisp. He consoled himself with the reflection that one who had advanced the vision he had had in the Tuilerie Garden in June, 1895, as far as the Congress in Basle might yet cross the Mediterranean as a home-returning Jew. "Only I am tired like an old man," he wrote in his Diary on October 27, 1897.

He received a letter from Nordau, informing him that he himself was trying to obtain an audience with the Kaiser, and also that he had been approached by the Turkish Government for a loan of forty million francs in return for a railway concession from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf and the right of settlement in an area of seventy thousand square kilometers in Palestine. Herzl replied that he approved of Nordau's efforts to see the Kaiser, and, as for the Turkish proposal, suggested that he should ask Chief Rabbi Zadok Kahn to submit it to the Jewish Colonization Association, which should found a bank with a capital of two million pounds, of which the Association's Council should act as Directors. He further suggested that this bank should give the loan to Turkey and receive the territory as cover, in which case the Zionist Organization would carry on propaganda for buying shares in the bank and he would retire from Zionist affairs. He also wrote hopefully to Nordau that he had had a visit from Poznanski, of Lodz, the richest Jew in Russian Poland, who was in favor of a bank with a capital of five to ten million pounds to become the Jewish National

Bank, and that it was of the utmost importance that such a project should not meet with any opposition from the Rothschilds. He was, indeed, so perturbed by the fear that the promotion of a Zionist bank might be prevented by the big Jewish financiers that he wrote a couple of articles in the *Daily Chronicle* suggesting that the Jewish middle classes would eventually boycott them.

4

From these various financial projects Herzl had some brief distraction at the beginning of 1898 through the production of his play, *Das Neue Ghetto*. This drama, in which he had first given expression to his views on the Jewish question, and which had been offered to a succession of theatre managers in vain a few years previously, was at last presented in Vienna, at the Carl Theatre, on January 1, thanks to the fame that he had meanwhile acquired as the Zionist leader. It met with a very favorable reception, although Zionists regarded it as a quite inadequate treatment of the Jewish problem; and, after many performances, it was also shown in a number of cities in Austria and Germany. It was undoubtedly Herzl's most serious play. It was in order to be present at its first production in Berlin that he went there on January 6, but he derived no pleasure from the experience, as the play, to use his own expression, was "demolished" by the critics. He utilized his visit to the city for political purposes, too. He had two long talks with the Turkish Ambassador, Ahmed Tewfik, whom he found quite friendly, but when the latter proposed that the Jews should settle in his country without having any definite territory assigned to them and without autonomy, Herzl replied that it would be like the settlement of "new Armenians" in Turkey. He also

had a conference with a number of leading Jews in Berlin, who had been called together by Professor Ludwig Stein (1859–1930), the philosopher and sociologist of Berne University, and whose support he sought for his bank project, but although they showed themselves interested, they were unwilling to cooperate. Even Dr. Maybaum, who had headed the protest of the German Rabbis against the Congress, came to the conference, though uninvited. Before leaving Berlin, Herzl called on Lucanus, Chief of the Imperial Civil Cabinet, and asked for an audience with the Kaiser. Lucanus replied that the Emperor was acquainted with the Zionist plan but thought that “the Israelites would not want.”

Shortly after returning to Vienna, Herzl began to feel increasing fatigue due to the combination of his Zionist labors and his journalistic work. He also had trouble with the Austrian authorities, owing to the legal regulations that hampered the activity of the Zionist societies. He therefore wrote to Nordau, on February 17, suggesting that he take over the Presidency of the Organization until the Congress of 1899, and that the Zionist Bureau be transferred to Paris, where it would be in a freer environment. He stated that he was confident of Nordau’s ability to cope with the task, as he was himself directing the Bureau in addition to his work as literary editor of the *Neue Freie Presse* and editor of *Die Welt*. After giving the matter consideration, Nordau replied that he was unable to accept the proposal, owing to general conditions in the French capital, and Herzl did not persist. He continued working with the “Inactions Committee,” which he called “a useless instrument,” and viewed with alarm the growing deficit incurred by *Die Welt*, whose twenty-four hundred subscribers throughout the world were insufficient to cover costs.

One of the gratifying results of the Congress was that it

gave a powerful impetus to propaganda in all parts of the world, and thousands of adherents were won over to the Basle Program. In almost every country in Europe in which there was a considerable Jewish population, in North and South America, in South Africa, in the Far East, and even in Australia and New Zealand, societies were formed which registered their affiliation to the Zionist Organization. In London, a Conference was held on March 6, 1898, at the Clerkenwell Town Hall, attended by delegates of the constituents of the *Hovevei Zion* and of non-affiliated Zionist societies.⁷ The main business of the Conference, over which Colonel Goldsmid presided, was to consider what attitude should be adopted toward the Central Committee in Vienna. The Committee therefore appointed David Wolffsohn, of Cologne, to attend as its delegate, and Herzl addressed a long letter⁸ to the Conference, in which, after expressing regret at his absence, he wrote:

My friends in England know how much I feel drawn toward them, and how much I expect from them for the work common and dear to all of us. From the first moment that I entered the movement my eyes were directed toward England, because I saw that by reason of the general situation of things there it was the Archimedean point where the lever could be applied.

Herzl expressed the hope that the Zionists in England would declare their adherence to the Basle Program, and announced that his Committee was busily occupied with the preliminary details for establishing the Jewish Colonial Bank, which would be situated in London, and would therefore be of special interest to them. Owing to a sharp division of opinion among the delegates, several of whom (including

⁷ The author attended the Conference as the delegate of an East End society.

⁸ For the full text of the letter see Paul Goodman, *Zionism in England*.

Goldsmid) could not reconcile themselves to the political character acquired by the Zionist movement and the protracted negotiations that resulted, it was not until January 22, 1899, that the formal establishment took place of the English Zionist Federation, which immediately linked up with the Vienna Bureau. There was a greater harmony of views in the United States and Canada, in which Federations were founded in 1898 and promptly placed themselves under that authority.

5

In the middle of March, 1898 Herzl again noted in his Diary the state of his health. "I am tired," he wrote, "the heart is not in order." His relations with his employers at that time were satisfactory: with Bacher they were agreeable, while Benedikt used to say jestingly: "One must be careful with this Herzl. Perhaps he is right after all. When he comes in, I always think it is Jesus Christ entering."⁹ But these relations were subject to fluctuation and deterioration. In the following month (April 23-25), Herzl held a Conference in Vienna with the "Actions Committee," at which it was decided to have a Second Congress in the summer to deal mainly with the establishment of the bank, and to invite subscriptions for one-pound shares forthwith. It was also agreed to send a member, Leo Motzkin, to Palestine, to investigate the social and economic conditions of the Jews and present a report to the Congress. Herzl was pleased with the marks of deference shown to him, as the recognized leader of the movement, but when, between the sessions, he went to the office of the *Neue Freie Presse*, he had a rude reminder of the subordinate position that he occupied there

⁹ *Tagebücher*, vol. II, pp. 64 and 66.

and felt a sense of humiliation. Early in May, he wrote that he went to the office every day ready for a fight, and he thought that the breach with Benedikt and Bacher was only a question of time. He was all the more depressed because *Die Welt* was eating up more of his savings and he calculated that he would be able to keep it going only for another year. He began to have a premonition of early death, and on May 25 he had a talk with his dear friend, Professor Leon Kellner, whom he requested to undertake the publication of his Diary if he survived him.¹⁰ He also asked Kellner to become the editor of *Die Welt* after he had passed away, and proposed that Kellner should receive suitable remuneration for the task; but the paper itself should naturally be the property of his children, "as I have neglected to save anything for them while I worked for the Jews."

Herzl seized upon another opportunity of seeking an audience with the German Emperor when the Rev. William Hechler told him that he was going in the latter part of May to a Church Conference in Berlin. Herzl promised Hechler that, if he succeeded in obtaining an audience for him, he would pay his expenses for a journey to Palestine in the autumn, when the Kaiser would be there. The British Chaplain, appreciating the gravity of his wish, responded by asking him to accompany him to the English Church on the following day, Sunday, and to pray with him. Herzl immediately changed the subject by referring to the grass in his garden, in which they were sitting. Hechler's effort in Berlin was futile, as he received a message from the Kaiser that he had too much to do. He then went on to Karlsruhe, where the Grand Duke of Baden told him that he should try to win over the German Ambassador in Vienna, Count

¹⁰ The Diary was edited by Leon Kellner and published in three volumes by the Jüdischer Verlag in Berlin, in 1922-1923.

Philipp zu Eulenburg, to the cause. When Hechler returned in June and reported on his soundings, Herzl drafted a letter to the Kaiser, in case Eulenburg, on being approached, should suggest that he should ask for an audience; but he did not send it off. For the first time, the political outlook seemed to him so cheerless that he thought of "giving the movement a nearer territorial goal, while reserving Zion as the ultimate goal. The poor masses need immediate help, and Turkey is not so far lost as to acquiesce in our wishes." Public interest in the Kaiser's projected visit to Palestine was becoming widespread, and Herzl gave an interview on July 12 to the Vienna correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette* on the subject, with special reference to Zionist aspirations. He was now writing leading articles in the *Neue Freie Presse* on foreign affairs, and he asked Bacher if he could do one on that subject, too. But Bacher maintained that the Zionist movement was still only a curiosity and had the article on the Kaiser's journey to Palestine written by another member of the staff, without any mention of Zionism.

As the time fixed for the opening of the Second Congress, in the middle of August, was approaching, Herzl became increasingly anxious about the success of the projected establishment of the bank. Early in the year, he had entrusted David Wolffsohn with the arduous task of bringing the financial institute into existence; and when Wolffsohn was in London in March, to attend the English Zionist Conference, he called on the banker, Isaac Seligman, to secure his friendly support. Seligman did not take the matter seriously until Wolffsohn made the businesslike suggestion that Baron de Rothschild should hand over his colonies in Palestine to the bank and accept their monetary value in shares. Wolffsohn then went to Vienna to report, and Herzl was so pleased with the suggestion that he wrote to Dr.

Alexander Marmorek, in Paris, that he should ask Dr. Henri de Rothschild or Baron Edmond to support it. Herzl had also corresponded on the matter with Dr. Moses Gaster, who informed him that Sir Edward Sassoon had suggested that the London Rothschilds should be approached through the Paris Rothschilds, and that, in the event this method proved successful, Sassoon would also be willing to take part. But, in the end, the Jewish bankers in London would have nothing to do with the venture any more than would those in Paris, Berlin, or Vienna; and when a Jewish merchant in Lodz wrote to Sir Samuel Montagu to inquire whether he was cooperating, the reply that he received was: "We have nothing to do with this bank and shall never take part in it." The more propaganda *Die Welt* and other Zionist or pro-Zionist papers were conducting in furtherance of the bank, the more determined became the opposition in anti-Zionist and non-Zionist circles; and although the Frankfurt bankers, Seligmann and Marx, originally promised to attend a bank conference in Cologne early in August, they withdrew at the last moment. When Wolffsohn sent a telegram with this news to Herzl, the latter wired back: "Never despair."

The Zionist leader earnestly wished that the *Neue Freie Presse* should publish a report of the forthcoming Congress and wrote to Benedikt, who was on a holiday at Scheveningen, for that purpose. He pointed out that the Second Congress would be far more important than the First, on account of the launching of the Zionist bank and of the projected visit to Palestine of the Kaiser, who would probably visit the Jewish colonies and possibly say something of the Zionist movement. He also spoke to Bacher on the matter before taking leave, and proposed to provide him with an objective account of the proceedings, but Bacher replied that he would willingly have a report, just like the

Kölnische Zeitung and other leading papers, if it were not for the dual position held by Herzl. So the *Neue Freie Presse* continued to ignore the movement.

6

Herzl arrived in Basle on August 25 in the company of Wolffsohn, with whom he had traveled from Lucerne, and was welcomed at the station with a tremendous ovation from a huge crowd. The first couple of days were devoted to a conference for dealing with many details relating to the constitution and purposes of the bank. The enthusiasm prevailing at this second gathering of Jewish representatives from many parts of the world was enhanced by a happy incident that occurred before the formal sessions began. It happened to be St. Jacob's Day, celebrated by a Swiss national festival, when a procession with gay banners passed in front of the Congress building. A woman delegate, who was on the balcony, waved her handkerchief to the marchers, whereupon they immediately responded by dipping their flags and sending up a joyous shout: "*Hoch die Juden* (Long live the Jews)!" It was a spontaneous and heartening demonstration of friendship that particularly moved those who lived in lands of intolerance.

The Congress lasted four days, August 28-31. As the number of Zionist societies in the preceding year had increased eightfold, it was not surprising that there were nearly twice as many delegates as at the First Congress; but this time they were accredited delegates, each elected by one hundred shekel-payers. Russia, in particular, had a much larger representation, including some destined to play leading parts in the future, such as Chaim Weizmann, Nahum Sokolow, and Menahem Ussishkin. From the United States

came the eminent Semitic scholar, Professor Richard Gottlieb, the President of the American Zionist Federation, and a young Reform Rabbi, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, who was to become a future President; while from England came Dr. Gaster, Herbert Bentwich, and Leopold J. Greenberg, of whom the last was to become Herzl's political representative in later negotiations with the British Government. Another notable figure was the French author and publicist, Bernard Lazare (1863-1903), who distinguished himself by helping to expose the plot against Dreyfus, but who left the Zionist movement after a short time, as he was not satisfied that adequate regard was paid to the principles of democracy.

In his opening speech, Herzl surveyed the progress that had been made in the past year and refuted some current misrepresentations. He emphasized the necessity of "conquering" the Jewish communities for Zionism, referred to the German Emperor's projected visit to Palestine as a recognition of the country's importance, affirmed the loyal attitude of the Zionist Organization to Turkey, and announced that proposals would be submitted for the establishment of the bank. Nordau again gave a brilliant address on the position of the Jews, Dr. Mandelstamm spoke on different trends in Zionism, and Motzkin reported in detail on the results of his investigation of the conditions of the Jews in Palestine. There were also discussions on the fostering of Jewish culture and the Hebrew language and on an improved system of organization.

By far the greatest interest was aroused by reports and resolutions submitted by Wolffsohn and his friend and fellow townsman, Max Bodenheimer (of Cologne), on the question of the bank, which were followed by an animated and occasionally vehement debate. The main proposals were that the financial institute should be called Juedische Colo-

nial Bank (in English, "Jewish Colonial Trust") that it should have a total capital of two million pounds in one-pound shares, that it should be devoted to the furtherance of agriculture and industry "in the Orient, especially in Palestine and Syria," and that its seat should be in London. Considerable enthusiasm was aroused when Wolffsohn informed the delegates that shares to the value of four million francs had been subscribed even before the Congress had begun and before the prospectus was published, that subscriptions for another two hundred fifty thousand francs had been received at Basle, that 95 per cent of the total amount had been acquired in single shares, and that the subscribers hailed from all parts of the world. Although there was general support for the bank, there was also some strong opposition, particularly from some delegates with a Socialist outlook, who urged that its establishment was premature and should be deferred for at least a year, and who also demanded that it should be based upon cooperative principles. Eventually the Congress agreed to the establishment of the bank, in a scene of great jubilation, and appointed a commission of nine to bring it into existence.

Herzl found the task of conducting the Congress far more trying than in the previous year, because so many speakers exceeded their time limit and then appealed to the assembly for permission to continue when called upon to finish. There were also heated exchanges when Herzl found it necessary to request speakers to keep to the subject, and at one stage some Socialists indulged in such obstruction that Mandelstamm proposed that they should be excluded—a suggestion that Herzl turned down. After three days of strenuous discussion, with frequent meetings of sub-committees between the sessions, the agenda was not yet completed, and it was therefore necessary to have a final session, which began a

half hour before midnight and continued until half-past four in the morning. By that time Herzl, like most of the delegates, must have been tired out, but he was nevertheless able to close the proceedings with some heartening words. He said that "Zionism is not only a sad necessity, it is also a glorious ideal." They were wandering forth. The moral wandering of the new Jews had begun. Whither would it lead them? Let them hope—to better days.

When the Congress was over, Herzl was pleased to receive an unexpected telegram from the Sultan of Turkey, thanking him for the message of friendly greeting that had been dispatched a few days earlier.

X

Mission to Palestine

IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE CONGRESS, HERZL, ACCOMPANIED BY Hechler, went (on September 2, 1898) to see the Grand Duke of Baden, who was staying at a castle on the charming Isle of Mainau, near Constance. The Grand Duke welcomed them with every mark of friendship and a warmhearted assurance of his willingness to be of assistance. He informed them that the German Government had inquired, through its Ambassador in Constantinople, Herr von Marschall, about Turkey's attitude to Zionism, and had received a reply that the Sultan regarded the cause "with favorable eyes." He also said that he had given the Kaiser a full account of the Zionist movement, and that the latter had instructed the German Ambassador in Vienna, Count Philipp zu Eulenburg, to study the question in detail and furnish him with a report. He explained that the Kaiser was now popular with the Sultan because he had withdrawn his troops from Crete (where there had been grave disturbances), that German influence at the Yildiz Kiosk was unlimited, and that if the Kaiser said a word to the Sultan it would certainly be taken to heart. Originally, the Emperor's journey to Palestine had been planned only as a religious act, but it had now assumed a political character, as he was going first to Constantinople to pay a visit to the lord of the land.

Greatly heartened by this encouraging news, Herzl said it was desirable that he should speak to the Kaiser before the latter's departure, so that he should be in possession of

the facts in the question. The Grand Duke expressed the fear that some Jewish circles might look upon support from the German Government as a manifestation of anti-Semitism, to which Herzl replied that Jews would have nothing against Zionism if only they were sure that it would not be construed as unpatriotic. The leaders of the Zionist movement, he said, were German writers, the language of their Congress was German, and they would introduce a German cultural element into the Orient. "We need a Protectorate," concluded Herzl; "the German would suit us best." After a talk of nearly two hours, he took his leave, the Grand Duke shaking hands with him very heartily and reassuring him of his devotion to the cause.

Herzl thereupon wrote to Count Eulenburg that he had been informed by the Grand Duke of the instructions he had received from the Kaiser, and that he would like to speak to the latter before he left for Constantinople. The Count promptly telegraphed that he would see him at the German Embassy on the following morning. Accordingly, Herzl, accompanied by Hechler, returned to Vienna at once, and as the Kaiser was then expected (on September 17) to attend the funeral of the Empress Elizabeth (who had been assassinated), he repeated his wish to have an audience. The Ambassador was unable to arrange it, but suggested that he should see the German Foreign Minister, Count von Bülow (1849-1929), who was also in Vienna. The next morning, therefore, Herzl was at the Embassy again and had his first meeting with Bülow. The latter, an experienced and astute diplomat, overwhelmed him with his amiability, said that he had read a great deal about him, and was glad to make his acquaintance. The effect of this effusive reception was that Herzl (as he admitted in his Diary) was taken off his guard: he spoke like a vain author, bent upon framing witty

replies instead of engaging in a serious political discussion. Bülow said that the Kaiser was by no means an anti-Semite, as he had been decried: he was only against "the destructive Jews," by which he meant those who belonged to the Socialist party. When Herzl remarked that the Grand Duke of Baden regarded the Foreign Minister as best qualified to present so difficult and delicate a question as Zionism in a manner that would not provoke any objection, Bülow bowed as though deeply moved. The difficulty, said the latter, was to give the Sultan such advice as would induce him to receive Herzl. "It would certainly make a great impression upon the Sultan if the Kaiser gave him such advice."

After three-quarters of an hour, Bülow broke off the conversation to hurry off to the station to await his Imperial master. Herzl again asked to be introduced to the Kaiser, either in Vienna or in the train returning to Germany, but Bülow merely nodded smilingly, without uttering a syllable. Herzl then went to the office of *Die Welt*, where he waited until the evening, in the hope of receiving a message from the Embassy; but on hearing that the Emperor and his Minister had left for Germany, he decided to go to Paris, *en route* for The Hague and London, in connection with the affairs of the bank.

In Paris, he again stayed at the Hotel Castille, and in the same room that he had previously occupied and at the same table on which he had written *The Jewish State*, he penned a long letter to Count Eulenburg, stating that his talk with Bülow had ended abruptly and again craving an audience with the Kaiser. He enforced his request by summarizing the advantages that would result from Zionism, both to the countries that the Jews would leave and to Turkey herself, as well as to the non-Russian part of Europe; and he stressed that the Emperor's journey to the Holy Land could

acquire the importance of a turning point in the history of the Orient if the return of the Jews were initiated thereby. Herzl told Nordau of his talks with the Grand Duke of Baden and Bülow, but his friend was skeptical about their value. He then went on to The Hague, to see the banker, Jacobus Kann (1872–1944), who was actively cooperating with Wolffsohn in the launching of the Jewish Colonial Trust, and Kann took him to the celebrated artist, Josef Israels, who was painting a picture of David playing the harp before Saul. Herzl spoke to Israels about Zionism and was pleased when he won him over.

The objective that he was so anxious to achieve suddenly came within his reach. On October 1, he was in Amsterdam and called at the German Consulate for any letters. He was given one from Count Eulenburg, which he read with astonishment mingled with both joy and anxiety. It stated that the Kaiser would be disappointed if he did not see him, with a deputation, in Jerusalem. He felt at first like one stunned, as he immediately envisaged the serious consequences that might follow. If, at the end of his leave, instead of returning to the office of the *Neue Freie Presse*, he went to Palestine, he might lose his position. On the other hand, he could not ignore a wish of the Kaiser, which was a command. There could, therefore, be no hesitation, he reflected: he must take the risk. On returning to The Hague, he confided the startling news to Wolffsohn and Kann. He felt justified in doing so, as the letter spoke of a deputation, and they were two whom he at once thought of taking with him. They were all agreed that this latest development made it more necessary than ever to speed up the launching of the bank.

2

On arriving in London with his colleagues on October 2, he stayed at the Burlington Hotel, in Cork Street, which was the scene of considerable bustle for the next few days. The members of the bank committee were not all agreed about the necessity of establishing the Jewish Colonial Trust as soon as possible: the majority, including Colonel Goldsmid and Herbert Bentwich (who had not been informed of the news about the Kaiser), were in favor of delay. But Herzl, Wolffsohn, and Kann insisted upon exerting the utmost pressure, and jointly provided the money for the registration and opening of the bank. A total of two hundred thousand shares had already been applied for, and Herzl was at the head of the list, with two thousand. It was the largest amount for a man of his means—"although the thing will not and dare not bring me in anything." Candidates for the post of manager were interviewed, so that no time might be lost in getting the bank to begin operations. During the discussion about the means for providing the manager's salary, Isaac Seligman proposed that, instead of a bank, they should found a Jewish Colonization Society, for which he thought that five million pounds could be raised, and which would be regarded by the "big" bankers favorably. Herzl replied that he would agree to stop the founding of the bank if the Colonization Society were formed, but that he would meanwhile go ahead with his own plans. Seligman's idea proved stillborn.

After one of his numerous meetings, Herzl was taken by Sidney Whitman to the Athenaeum Club and was introduced to the Bishop of London (Dr. Mandell Creighton, the historian), whom he sought to interest in Zionism.

The most important event of his stay in London was a

mass demonstration, on October 3, that he addressed in the Great Assembly Hall in Whitechapel. The vast hall was packed in every nook and cranny and in all its galleries with an enthusiastic crowd of about seven thousand, while outside more than three thousand men and women clamored in vain for admittance. It was a scene such as had never been witnessed before in the history of London Jewry. Herzl, who was given an uproarious ovation, spoke (in German) for over an hour in his usual moderate and measured tones. He replied at first to the various attacks made upon Zionism, refuted the charge that it had caused or would cause anti-Semitism, and declared that Judaism had no other mission than to work with other nations in the cause of common humanity. Then, under the impact of the sensational letter from Count Eulenburg, he said:

I shall not draw you a picture of the return, for it will soon begin. I can assure you of this, that we are now not very distant from the date. I know well what I say, I never yet spoke so distinctly. Today I tell you that I do not hold the time as far distant when the Jews will get into motion.

He spoke of the organized emigration that would be necessary, of the help that would surely be forthcoming from the Jewish philanthropic bodies, and of the employment of the people on the land. "Do you believe the Jews will go if we get the land?" he exclaimed. "Answer me!" There were shouts of "Yes, yes!" from the audience. He continued in the same confident and optimistic strain:

I beg you to take me at my word, even if it is an indefinite one. Perhaps you will remember what I have told you, that we have reached a great stage, and I hope that if I come again, even in one year, we will be in quite another situation.

When Herzl concluded, there was a tremendous storm of applause, which was renewed when the venerable Rabbi Werner, the spiritual head of the most orthodox congregation in London, rose to speak and said that they should return thanks to the Almighty for sending them such a leader. A further outburst of cheering greeted Father Ignatius, who, in his monk's habit, presented a dramatic figure as he passionately affirmed his belief in Zionism as "the fulfillment of the words of Ezekiel" and lauded Herzl as "your new Joshua." The effect of Herzl's speech was reflected a few days later in the *Jewish World*, which wrote: "The time is not far off: realization is nearer than people have imagined." But the *Jewish Chronicle*, which was then still in anti-Zionist hands, deplored the meeting in support of "a petty dependency at the mercy of a feeble Moslem potentate," and stressed that "the Sultan will not voluntarily submit his territory to further mutilation."

3

From London, Herzl traveled straight to Berlin to see Count Eulenburg, who was staying at his country estate at Liebenberg. On arriving at the station of Löwenberg, he was met by the Count's coachman, who drove him in a hunting-carriage to the estate, which was a half hour's journey away. The Count gave him a cordial welcome, and after introducing him to his wife and the rest of his family, took him for a stroll through the grounds. He assured Herzl that he had "succeeded in making the Kaiser warm for the cause," as he could speak to him "differently from others." This was no exaggeration, as, during the first half of the reign of Emperor William II, Count Philipp Eulenburg was, indeed, one of the powers behind the throne. He stated

that Bülow, his best friend, had also been won over, and when Herzl remarked that he had found Bülow in Vienna not keen, the Count replied that it was because it was their first meeting. "The main thing," stressed the Ambassador, "is not what he said to you, but what he said to me when I persuaded him. I have convinced him." Herzl thanked him very warmly. His host then said: "Perhaps the moment will come when I shall demand favors from you." Herzl declared that he would always be grateful and was willing to give proof of his gratitude. "No, not now," said the other. "The opportunity may perhaps come."

Count Eulenburg told Herzl that he should in any case go to Constantinople, and that the Kaiser wished to receive a Zionist deputation in Jerusalem. His Majesty had fully accepted the idea of a Protectorate in Palestine and had no doubt that the Sultan would accept his advice, as the latter was convinced of his friendship. And the Kaiser had said he could "defend his intervention on behalf of the Jews before his people."

"*Wunderbar, wunderbar!*" commented Herzl in his Diary.

The Zionist leader thereupon suggested that, if the preliminary steps were to be kept secret, it would be better that the Kaiser should receive him in Berlin or Constantinople. Eulenburg replied that, as it was the question of a Protectorate, the matter could not be kept secret for long, and that it was well to come out into the open immediately. The world would have to reconcile itself to it. Herzl thought that the only right thing was to accept the German Protectorate, as it was offered, and that "the most beneficial effects for the national character of the Jews would follow." The legal position would also be clear: the Suzerainty of the Porte and the Protectorate of Germany would be adequate legal pillars. The only question was whether it should be

a combination of Suzerainty and Protectorate or one of the two. Developments would show.

In commenting in his Diary on his long interview with Count Eulenburg, Herzl wrote that he did not know what he had meant by "favours," but that, whatever they were, he would render them, so that everybody who came into contact with him should gain an opinion of the Jew different from that which was common.¹

On returning to his hotel in Berlin, Herzl received a wire from the Grand Duke of Baden asking him to come to see him at the palace in Potsdam at eight o'clock the next morning. Despite this early hour, which necessitated rising at half-past five, Herzl presented himself at the palace punctually, and was ushered through a succession of magnificent apartments to the beautiful salon in which he was greeted by the Grand Duke in the uniform of a general. "I no longer know what he in his kindness said to me on receiving me," wrote Herzl. "I only know that I love and revere this wise, good, and great man. I have never in my life seen such a thoroughly noble man; I never believed that there are such princes as he is." In the course of a two-hour conversation, the Grand Duke said that the Kaiser had made a thorough study of the question and was full of enthusiasm. "This word does not say too much," he emphasized; "he is taken up with your idea quite enthusiastically." He told Herzl that the Kaiser would already have received him, but that it was now thought better that he should see him in Constantinople and Jerusalem. A good report had come from Herr von Marschall, the Ambassador at the Porte, and the

¹ Count Philipp Eulenburg, in 1908, had to face a sensational trial on the charge of immorality, and it is possible that he was already indulging, ten years before then, in practices that led to it, and thought that Herzl might defend him in the press.

Emperor believed that the Sultan would accept his counsel favorably. Finally, the Grand Duke advised Herzl to see Bülow, who was also at the palace in Potsdam. Herzl therefore returned to his hotel in the vicinity, sent a message to the Foreign Secretary, which brought a prompt reply, and a few hours later was back at the palace.

He was received by Bülow in the company of another man—"a little, crooked old man, laden with orders, and with a yellow sash over his Court dress." It was the Imperial Chancellor, Prince Hohenlohe. He gave Herzl a look that was anything but encouraging, and it was from his lips that the Zionist leader heard the first anti-Semitic utterance in these high circles. "Do you think that the Jews will abandon their stock exchange and go with you? The Jews who are well established here in Berlin?" Herzl replied that not the Jews of the West End but those of the East and the North, those who were poor, would go with him. The Chancellor continued to ply him with questions that betrayed his hostility all too clearly. He wanted to know what tracts of land the Zionists wanted, whether any part was beyond Beirut, and from whom the land would be purchased.

"And you want to found a State there?" he asked.

Herzl: "We want autonomy and self-protection."

Hohenlohe: "What does Turkey say to this?"

Herzl: "The Grand Duke told me that favorable reports have been received from Herr von Marschall."

Bülow, who was sitting in a corner of the sofa near Hohenlohe's armchair, interjected: "Nothing is known to me. I have had nothing about it from Marschall in my hands." Herzl did not allow himself to be disconcerted, but said that he had reports that the atmosphere in Constantinople was favorable. The Chancellor then asked some skeptical questions about the number prepared to emigrate

and the means available. Herzl referred to the various Jewish funds which, in the event of serious developments, would combine, and mentioned that one of them amounted to ten million pounds. "That is much," commented Bülow, and, looking at Hohenlohe, he said: "The money will perhaps do it. With that we shall be able to tackle the matter." Hohenlohe remained silent, then rose to leave for lunch with the Kaiser and shook Herzl by the hand. Bülow prepared to follow and said: "*Auf Wiedersehen* in Constantinople, *Herr Doktor!*" Herzl inquired where he would be received by the Kaiser—in Constantinople and Jerusalem? "In any case, only once," replied Bülow. "Then," said Herzl, "I am to submit in Constantinople the address that I should deliver in Jerusalem?" "Certainly," replied Bülow, as he hurried after Hohenlohe.

Herzl left the palace in a state of perplexity and depression. He reflected that either the two principal heads of the German Government did not agree with the views of their Imperial lord, or else that it was a characteristic of official diplomacy to pretend indifference even in matters that aroused their keenest interest. He was nevertheless unfavorably struck by the sharp contradiction between what the Grand Duke and Eulenburg had told him about the views of Marschall and Bülow, on the one hand, and the frigid attitude of Bülow and Hohenlohe, on the other, which he had just experienced himself. He began to have misgivings, and thought that even the best intentions of the Kaiser were often later "corrected, denied, and altered" by his advisers; but he also sought to console himself with the hope that "in the worst event our idea, even as the abandoned sweetheart of the German Emperor, will be taken up by others."

4

He was back again in Vienna on October 11. His first task was to inform Benedikt and Bacher of his impending departure for Palestine. There was a painful scene, in which his principals made no effort to conceal both their annoyance and their envy. They could not well raise any objection to a member of their staff complying with an invitation from the German Emperor to meet him in the Holy Land, but, since he was going as the Zionist leader, they did not feel anything of the reflected glory they would have enjoyed if he had been invited as representative of the *Neue Freie Presse*. Herzl asked them to furnish him with an introduction to the Austrian Ambassador in Constantinople, but they only gave him an evasive reply, which prompted him to note in his Diary that Bacher caused him more heartburn than Hohenlohe himself. He then applied himself to the selection of the deputation that was to accompany him on the momentous mission. He at first thought of inviting Nordau, Gaster, and Mandelstamm, as members of the Praesidium of the last Congress, and Oskar Marmorek, a colleague in the Executive, but for various reasons, they were unavailable. He finally chose his most trusted confidant, Wolffsohn, and the latter's friend, the lawyer Max Bodenheimer, Dr. Schnirer, who had the twofold qualification of being a physician and a member of the Vienna Executive, and an engineer, Seidener, who had the advantage of previous acquaintance with Palestine.

Before setting out on the journey, Herzl called on the Turkish Ambassador for introductions to people in authority in Constantinople. The Ambassador smilingly declined his request by relating an Oriental anecdote, but assured him that he would give a favorable reply if an inquiry were addressed

to him. Herzl then found time to read a new comedy, *Unser Käthchen* (which he had begun some years before), to a group of actors at the Burg Theatre, as he felt that his connection with the *Neue Freie Presse* was imperiled, and he wished to make some sort of provision for the future. He did not take formal leave of Benedikt and Bacher, as he wanted to avoid another unpleasant scene, but sent the latter the key of his desk (which contained some feuilletons for publication) with a facetious note. When the moment for departure approached, he felt a little apprehensive, as a report had reached him from the Hebrew journalist, Ben-Yehuda, through Dr. Werner (editor of *Die Welt*), that an attempt might be made upon his life; but his conscience told him that it was his duty to go. He was deeply moved when his parents wept at the parting. "They would be the only ones who would not be consoled," he wrote, "if I did not come back. That I should then become a figure in world history would be no comfort for my poor old folks."

In the train on the way to Constantinople, he worked out with Bodenheimer the details of the demands that he should put forward: the territory extending from the Egyptian frontier to the Euphrates, with a transitional period under a Jewish Governor, and later the same relation as between Egypt and the Sultan, the Jewish Administration to begin when the Jews formed two-thirds of the total population.

5

On arriving in the Turkish capital on October 15, the deputation put up at the Hotel de Londres. Herzl sent Bodenheimer to the German Embassy to arrange an interview for him, but the latter soon returned with the message that Herr von Marschall did not know the Zionist leader

and could not receive him, as he was going to the Dardanelles to meet the Kaiser. Thereupon Herzl wrote a long letter to the Kaiser, setting forth the object that he had in view and asking for a private audience as soon as possible, as he and the members of the deputation were leaving on a Russian steamer for Alexandria at ten the next morning in order to reach Palestine in time. He enclosed it with a covering letter to the Court Marshal, Count August zu Eulenburg, wrote a further letter to Bülow, who was with the Kaiser, and handed them all to Wolffsohn to deliver at Yildiz Kiosk, where a small palace had been specially built for the accommodation of the Imperial party. Several hours later, he received a reply requesting him to present himself at half-past four. He was feverishly excited at the prospect of the momentous interview, ate and drank sparsely to be in good form, had his pulse felt and decided not to take a sedative, and dressed immaculately. He set out for Yildiz Kiosk accompanied by Wolffsohn, but, when he arrived at the palace, he was kept waiting for nearly two hours before being ushered into the monarch's presence.

The Kaiser gave him a friendly welcome and asked him to be seated in an armchair near Bülow. Herzl felt his heart beating violently when he began to speak, but he soon controlled himself and spoke calmly. He recapitulated the proposal that he had already made in his letter, that a concession should be granted by the Sultan for "a Jewish land company for Syria and Palestine" under a German Protectorate. The Kaiser nodded approvingly at the mention of such a concession, and explained why the Zionist movement appealed to him. He spoke to Herzl of the Jews as "your countrymen," and said that he had no doubt that the Zionists, with the men and the money at their disposal, would succeed in carrying out the colonization of Palestine.

He referred in particular to Jewish "usurers" among the rural population in Hesse, and remarked that it would be good if they were settled in Palestine. Herzl was annoyed at this identification of the Jews in general with a few money-lenders and delivered a brief speech against anti-Semitism. The Emperor continued by saying that he believed the Jews would go in for the colonization of Palestine if they knew that he extended his protection over it, as they would feel that they were not really leaving Germany. The Zionist leader then observed that the time was favorable; France was internally weak and would not oppose the plan, as the French Army had suffered through the Dreyfus affair. Thereupon the Kaiser spoke with astonishing candor, making it quite clear that the Jewish officer was totally innocent of any dealings with Germany. When Herzl explained the somewhat intricate plan of the loan to be offered to Turkey and said that the matter seemed to him quite natural, the Kaiser responded: "To me, too. It will certainly make an impression if the German Emperor concerns himself about this and shows an interest in it. . . . After all, I am actually the only one who still stands by the Sultan. He attaches some importance to me." Finally, he said: "Just tell me in one word what I should demand from the Sultan."

"A Chartered Company—under German protection," was Herzl's reply.

"Good! A Chartered Company," repeated the Kaiser. He asked Herzl to write out the address he intended delivering in Jerusalem and to hand it to Bülow, with whom he would go through it. He then shook hands vigorously with the Zionist leader and left the room.

As Herzl descended the stairs with Bülow, the latter eagerly advised him to go to Marschall and discuss the matter with him, as the Ambassador would give him "exact in-

formation." Bülow added significantly: "I believe that the Turks are at present unfavorably disposed." Herzl hurried off in the carriage in which Wolffsohn was waiting for him to the German Embassy, only to find that Marschall had already gone to the gala dinner in honor of the Kaiser. His inability to reach Marschall before leaving Constantinople, and the lack of an opportunity to dispel any of his doubts, for which Herzl was in no way to blame, may perhaps have contributed in some measure to the ultimate failure of his mission.

He at once returned to his hotel, informed his companions of the day's events, and then, while Wolffsohn was packing his trunks, worked on the draft of his address until eleven o'clock. Worn out by fatigue, he slept until four in the morning, rose and lit all the twelve candles in his room, wrote for another half hour, and sank back on the bed exhausted. At six he was up again, finished as much as he could up to half-past eight, and sent off the draft with a covering letter to Bülow. He had only enough time left to get ready for departure and to hasten with his companions to the harbor, where they boarded the steamer for Alexandria. From there, they transferred to a smaller Russian vessel, on which all five had to occupy one cabin. Very early on the morning of their approach to Jaffa, Herzl was up to catch the first glimpse of the Holy Land. He woke Wolffsohn with the words: "Come, David, get dressed. Let us go to see our beloved motherland." They both went on deck, and as they beheld the coast line they embraced, tears trickled from their eyes, and they whispered softly: "Our country, our mother Zion!" ²

² *Theodor Herzl: A Memorial*, edited by M. W. Weisgal, p. 76.

6

Herzl and his companions landed on October 26 in Jaffa, and lost no time in going to see the Jewish settlements that were nearest. They drove first to the agricultural school of Mikveh Israel, established by the French *Alliance Israélite* in 1870, and then, through desolate landscape, to Rishon le-Zion, where they inspected the extensive wine cellars built by the bounty of Baron Edmond de Rothschild. News of their visit soon spread through the neighborhood and brought a deputation, with "well-meant music." One of the colonists made a speech of welcome, in which he tried to show that their sense of obligation to the Baron was in harmony with their love for Herzl, whereupon the latter advised them to be thankful to the Baron, although their aims were different. The travelers visited the comfortable home of one of the colonists and the poorly furnished house of some laborers, and were depressed on hearing from Dr. Mazie, the local physician, of the prevalence of fever in all the Jewish settlements—an evil that could be remedied only by drainage. A half hour's further journey brought them to the little colony of Wady el-Chanin, where they were welcomed by the entire population, and where Herzl was presented by an old man with bread, salt, and wine from his own land. Then on to Rehoboth, where they were greeted by a cavalcade of about twenty young men on horseback, who performed a sort of *fantasia* around them while singing Hebrew songs. Tears of joy came to the visitors as they gazed at the spectacle, and they were soon the center of a jubilant demonstration by the whole population, with the children singing. They returned to Jaffa tired out.

As the Rev. William Hechler had now arrived, Herzl asked him to inform the German Court Marshal, Count

August Eulenburg, that he would await the Emperor the next morning on the road to Mikveh Israel. Punctually at nine, Herzl was there with his friends, and as he saw the Kaiser's party approaching, accompanied by a Turkish armed guard, he signaled to the Mikveh children's choir, who struck up the German national anthem. The Emperor advanced on his horse toward Herzl, who doffed his cork helmet and shook the outstretched hand, and there was a brief exchange of greetings. The Kaiser said that it was very hot, "but the land has a future." Herzl replied: "At present it is still sick," to which the other returned: "It needs water, much water!"

"Yes, your Majesty," agreed Herzl, "canalization on a large scale."

The Kaiser repeated: "It is a land of the future," shook Herzl's hand again, and rode off with his retinue. The Empress, who was in front, nodded to the Zionist leader with a smile, and he also had a friendly greeting from the Court Marshal. The Rothschild administrators looked on in astonishment. Wolffsohn took two quick snapshots of the scene and believed that he had secured a historic souvenir, but the films, on being examined, proved useless.

The reception of the deputation was to take place in the vicinity of Jerusalem, and the travelers therefore took the train from Jaffa to the Holy City. The heat was terrific and the carriage crowded and stuffy, with the result that Herzl became feverish. He gradually grew weaker, and by the time the journey was over, night had fallen and the Sabbath had begun. Herzl felt so exhausted that he wanted to take a carriage to the hotel, which was a half hour's walk away, but his friends restrained him from what would have been regarded as a violation of the Sabbath. He therefore tottered along with the aid of a stick, supported on the other side

alternately by Wolffsohn and Schub (Rothschild's agent), but he was nevertheless deeply moved by the beauty of the city in the moonlight. On reaching their hotel, where he was given a small uncomfortable bedroom, he took some quinine and was sick. Dr. Schnirer rubbed him with camphorated alcohol and he fell asleep.

Fortunately, he recovered by morning, but he felt too weak to go out and therefore sat at the window, surveying the magnificence of the scene before him. On the following day, he and his friends went to see the Western Wall, that venerable and imposing relic of the Second Temple, but their emotions were saddened by the sight of blear-eyed beggars clamoring for alms. They were painfully impressed by the dirt, decay, and dark ugly hovels, which they found in abundance, and Herzl, in his Diary, recorded the resolve that, if and when Jerusalem came into Jewish possession, they would clean it up thoroughly and build beyond the moldering remnants of the old city a modern and beautiful new Jerusalem.

Anxious to learn when the Kaiser would receive the deputation, Herzl, who had meanwhile left the hotel for a private house, sent Wolffsohn (on October 29) to the Court Marshal with a letter and the text of his address. He awaited a reply with increasing impatience, as he was anxious to leave the country immediately after the audience and before his fear that he might be ordered by the Turkish authorities to quit was realized. At last, on November 1, he was summoned to the tent, in the German encampment, of the Legation Counsellor Kemeth, a young official of haughty bearing. The latter returned the address to him with some passages deleted, and requested him to submit a fresh copy with those passages omitted, together with the corrected manuscript, so that he could compare the two. He also added that nothing

might be published about the audience except what would be permitted. Herzl was peeved by the arrogant tone and impertinent remarks of the official, but suppressed his feelings. By the evening, Bodenheimer returned the fair copy and the original, on the back of which had been written in pencil the name of Tewfik Pasha—the Turkish Foreign Minister.

At noon on the following day, November 2 (a day rendered more memorable nineteen years later by the issue of the Balfour Declaration), the deputation, all in evening dress and silk hats, drove in the oppressive heat and through clouds of chalky dust to the Emperor's grand marquee. They were preceded by Hechler, who carried an album of views of the Jewish colonies in a costly wrapping for delivery to the Court Marshal. Herzl introduced his four companions to the Kaiser, who touched his helmet as each name was mentioned. He then began to read his revised address, which Bülow followed in the copy in his hand. He referred to the long historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine, the memory of which had always been a source of consolation to them in their hours of suffering. Zionism was a fully modern movement that linked up with present-day conditions, seeking to solve the Jewish question through the possibilities of the time, and its adherents believed that it would succeed because of the wealth of technical achievements available. The land of their fathers cried out for people who would cultivate it, and these people cried out for a land that they wished to cultivate. The Zionist leaders considered the cause so good that they invoked the help of his Imperial Majesty. They would not venture on the project if it could in any way affect the interests of the Sultan, and the friendship of his Majesty for the Sultan was so well known that there could be no doubt about the intentions

of those who turned to him for his "most gracious intervention." They were "planning the establishment of a Jewish land company for Syria and Palestine, which should take the great work in hand," and were convinced that the realization of the project would also be of benefit to Turkey herself.³

Of the passages that had been deleted from the original draft, one referred to the resurgence of the Zionist idea among the Jews whenever they were subjected to persecution, and the other stressed the revival of their national consciousness and set forth the terms of the Basle Program. But by far the most significant excision consisted of ten words immediately following the phrase "the great work in hand," namely: "and crave for this company the protection of the German Emperor." The whole purpose of the deputation and the address, as understood by Herzl, was to secure an official declaration of this protection, and therefore the suppression of those words reduced what would have been an act of political importance to an ephemeral ceremony.

The Kaiser thanked the Zionist leader for his statement and said that the matter required thorough study and further discussion. He assured him of his continued interest and said that the land needed water and shade.

"That is what we can bring to the country," replied Herzl. "It will cost milliards, but will also bring in milliards."

"Yes, money you have enough," emphasized the Kaiser jovially, slapping his topboot with his riding whip. "More money than all of us." And Bülow endorsed the oracular utterance: "Yes, you have the money, which causes us so many difficulties, in plenty."

Herzl referred to the potentialities of the water power of the Jordan, and drew Seidener, as engineer, into the con-

³ *Tagebücher*, vol. II, pp. 181-182.

versation; and when mention was made of the health conditions, Schnirer was asked for his views. The Kaiser then concluded the audience by shaking hands with Herzl, and the deputation withdrew.

After they had left, Herzl remarked to Schnirer: "He has said neither 'yes' nor 'no.'" He reflected that apparently much had happened since the audience in Constantinople, but nevertheless thought that the expedition had ended "with a fairly good result," a view that he afterward revised. A few hours later, he planted a young cedar on the estate of a pioneer settler named Broze, and Wolffsohn planted a date palm. Anxious now to leave the country as soon as possible, they all departed by the first train on the following morning for Jaffa. They were obliged, however, to wait yet another day, as there was no boat available, and were exposed to the continued inquisitiveness of friends and the pestering attentions of spies and beggars.

7

At last they set sail on November 5. The only boat leaving for Alexandria was a small English orange-freighter, of three hundred fifty tons displacement, but Herzl felt safer on this rocking cockleshell than in the land where he ran the risk of arrest or deportation; and although three of his fellow travelers (not Wolffsohn, who never questioned his chief's decisions) at first rebelled at the prospect of entrusting themselves to such a puny vessel, they finally acquiesced. Soon after they were out on the open sea, it began to pitch and roll violently, and as the heat in the cabins was stifling, they took the mattresses on to the deck and slept under the stars. It was a rough passage, from which only Herzl and Schnirer

suffered no ill effects, and there was general relief on reaching Alexandria.

Herzl immediately looked through all the English and French papers that he could get, to find out whether anything had been printed about his audience with the Kaiser, and as his search was in vain, he wired to his father. He soon received the telegraphic reply: "Audience known," and thereupon wired a message for publication in *Die Welt*. He regarded this not as a violation of the secrecy imposed upon him by the German bureaucrats, but merely as an official confirmation of a report already known. Not until they arrived in Naples, to which they had sailed on a comfortable Italian liner, did Herzl read in the press the following dispatch of a news agency about his audience:

Jerusalem, 2 November.—Emperor William received a Jewish deputation, who presented an album with views of the Jewish colonies established in Palestine. In reply to the address of the leader of the deputation, Emperor William said that his benevolent interest could be counted upon for all those efforts that aimed at the improvement of the agriculture of Palestine for the benefit of the welfare of the Turkish Empire, with full regard for the sovereignty of the Sultan.

Herzl was annoyed by this insipid *communiqué*, which he attributed to the Legation Counsellor or to Bülow himself. His companions were depressed, whereupon he declared that he would see to it that a version that he regarded as suitable was published. He also reproached them for being so dispirited, and said that the fact that he remained undiscouraged showed that he was entitled to the leadership. On subsequent reflection, he noted in his Diary that it was excellent for the further development of the movement that the Kaiser had not assumed the Protectorate, as, although

it would have been of immediate advantage, they would in the long run have to pay "the heaviest usurious interest."

Herzl was back in Vienna on November 18, and lost no time in trying to find out what reasons had influenced Emperor William to change his mind. He wrote a letter to the Grand Duke of Baden and also sent Hechler to see him. When the latter returned, he reported that the main objection in the eyes of the Kaiser consisted of the variety of nationalities of the Jews in Palestine, and that there were too many French-protected subjects. Herzl therefore wrote again to the Grand Duke, suggesting how these difficulties could be solved, and asking him to intervene again with the Kaiser. He also had a long conversation at the German Embassy with Count Eulenburg, who gave him a somewhat similar explanation: the Kaiser was favorably impressed by the Zionist leader himself but was displeased with the Jews in Jerusalem.⁴ Herzl could not help concluding that this was merely a pretext and that the real reason lay in considerations of international policy advanced by the Kaiser's political advisers and in the Sultan's unfavorable attitude. That this was the most probable explanation was strongly indicated by the undisguised antagonism of the German Chancellor and the hardly less concealed antipathy of the Ambassador in Constantinople, as well as by the marked cooling-off of Bülow. It was further confirmed, more than three years later, by the Grand Duke of Baden, who, when receiving a delegation of German Zionists in 1902, mentioned that the Kaiser had twice attempted to discuss the question of Palestine with the Sultan at the gala dinner in

⁴ More than two years later, on January 3, 1901, Eulenburg told Herzl that the Sultan declined the Kaiser's suggestion regarding the Zionists so brusquely that it was impossible to pursue the matter further (*Tagebücher*, vol. II, p. 523).

his honor, but was met by an ostentatious lack of understanding.⁵ It was a sore disappointment for Herzl at the time—one of the many that he had to suffer—but, in the light of subsequent events and especially of developments in the First World War, the failure of his mission was unquestionably fortunate.

Had he lived to read the *Memoirs* of Prince von Bülow, he would have been more astonished than ever, for the statesman who was present at the audience with the Kaiser in the marquee near Jerusalem and carefully followed, with a copy in his hand, every word of the address that Herzl read, actually wrote that no such audience in Palestine ever took place. In his account of the Kaiser's visit to the Holy Land, Bülow described his contact with the Zionist deputation in the following few sentences:

In front of the gate by which he entered, a deputation of Zionists wanted to address the Kaiser. At their head was Dr. Theodor Herzl, a clever Viennese journalist, filled with sacred zeal for the cause of Zionism. He had been presented to the Kaiser by the Grand Duke of Baden. William II was at first fired with enthusiasm for the Zionist idea, because he hoped by this means to free his country from many elements which were not particularly sympathetic to him. When, however, the then Turkish Ambassador in Berlin, who accompanied us on our Near Eastern tour, had made it clear that the Sultan would have nothing to do with Zionism and an independent Jewish kingdom, he dropped the Zionist cause and refused to receive its advocates in Zion.⁶

⁵ Article by Max I. Bodenheimer in *Theodor Herzl: A Memorial*.

⁶ *Prince von Bülow; Memoirs, 1897-1903*, vol. I, pp. 249-250. The denial of Herzl's audience with the Kaiser was by no means the only instance of gross misrepresentation in this book, as is clear from the publishers' preface in the original German work, of which Volume I appeared in 1930, a year after Bülow's death. They state that in their agreement with him, made in 1921, it was provided that the *Memoirs* should only be published after his death and

As the editor of von Bülow's *Memoirs*, Franz von Stockhammern, paid a tribute in his preface to the author's "unusually powerful memory, a memory that belonged to him through his public life and lasted to extreme old age," and likewise to his careful verification of every sentence, it is hardly probable that this untrue version was due to a lapse of memory. One can therefore only express amazement that a statesman of eminence should have stooped to so mean and malicious a falsification of history. If any proof were needed of the truth of the Psalmist's dictum, "Put not your trust in princes," this conduct of Prince von Bülow should serve as a classic illustration.

that no alterations of any kind should be made. The editor, Von Stockhammern, died before the actual printing began.

XI

The Quest for a Charter

AFTER RECOVERING FROM THE DISAPPOINTMENT CAUSED BY HIS audience with the Kaiser, Herzl, early in 1899, decided to make an effort to approach the Tsar. He wrote a letter to the famous apostle of peace, Baroness von Suttner (1843-1914), who had already expressed sympathy for Zionism, requesting her to invoke the interest of Count Muraviev, the Russian Foreign Minister, in the cause. He urged her to apply all her persuasive powers, to point out that Zionism would bring an end to the persecution of the Jews in Russia, that it would involve the departure only of the proletariat and the desperate, and would thus bring about a lessening of Jewish support for socialism, nihilism, and anarchism. A few days later, the Baroness told him that she had seen the Russian Ambassador, Kapnist, who informed her that Muraviev had written that an audience was at present out of the question, "although the motives of the Zionists were favorably acknowledged."

Turned down by Russia, Herzl next thought of approaching the Vatican. He called on the Nuncio in Vienna, Tagliani, who was personally not unfriendly to the cause. The latter said that the Vatican had always been favorably disposed toward the Jews (a statement that Herzl tactfully refrained from disputing), and suggested that Newlinsky should be sent to Rome, where he had the best connections, to make preliminary soundings. Herzl had already given his diplomatic agent money for a visit to Rome, even before he

set out for Palestine, but Newlinsky did not undertake the journey, owing to his poor state of health.

Throughout the early months of 1899, Herzl was in a mood of depression, owing partly to the impasse that he had reached in the political sphere and partly to the lack of progress in floating the Jewish Colonial Trust. At the end of February, he went to Karlsruhe for another talk with the Grand Duke of Baden, and on the evening of his arrival he had a conference there with Wolffsohn and Jacobus Kann, lasting until midnight, about their difficulties with the bank. They told him that they feared the campaign to secure subscriptions would prove disastrous, as not a single reputable bank was willing to accept deposits for the shares. All the Jewish banks, whether important or not, seemed to have declared a boycott. They therefore urged him to secure the Grand Duke's help to obtain the cooperation of the Deutsche Bank in Berlin. The Grand Duke was as amiable as ever. When Herzl proposed that he should assume the Protectorate over the Land Colonization Society that the Kaiser had declined, he replied that he was willing but that the Emperor must agree to it. Meanwhile, he gave Herzl a letter of introduction to the Deutsche Bank. The letter was passed on to Wolffsohn and Kann, who at once took it to Berlin to see the directors of the bank, but the interview proved fruitless.

On returning to Vienna, Herzl sent a telegram to Lucanus, the Secretary of the Imperial Civil Cabinet, asking for another audience with the Kaiser. After his previous experience, he might have guessed the reply: the Kaiser could not see him, as he was about to start on a journey, but referred him to Bülow. Not to be deterred, he addressed a long letter to the Emperor (with a covering letter to Lucanus), in which he set forth in detail his reasons for seeking another audi-

ence: he was afraid that his Imperial Majesty's advisers had been influenced by Jews who were opponents of Zionism; he regretted that his Majesty had seen only the Jews crowded in Jerusalem, and not the Jewish colonies. He now desired from him only a word of encouragement, and he would then approach the Tsar. His request was again refused by Lucanus, but he would not give up. Although over four months had now elapsed since his barren mission to Jerusalem, he wrote a long letter to Bülow, in which he expressed appreciation of the Foreign Minister's objections to Zionism, yet advanced further arguments in its support. He recalled that a German Protectorate had been promised, but the brief semi-official message of a news agency had reduced the audience on the matter to a mere nothing. He did not expect that Bülow would be converted by his arguments, but if his Excellency wished to see him, he would be ready to come at any moment. Shortly after he sent off this letter, he heard from Nordau that the Berlin correspondent of the *Kölnische Zeitung* had spoken about the Zionist question to Bülow, who told him that the Emperor developed a sudden enthusiasm for a cause, but cooled off just as quickly. As for himself, Bülow did not believe in the thing, as the rich Jews did not want it and he would not have anything to do with "scurvy Polish Jews."

Disappointed as he was by the lack of response from Berlin, he was far more worried at the time by the difficulties of launching the Jewish Colonial Trust. Not only were all the banks that had been asked to act as receiving centers for deposits on the shares utterly opposed, but some of the directors had still not given their signatures to the prospectus less than three weeks before it was due to be issued, while others, including even some in London, actually urged that the establishment of the bank should be postponed on

the ground that it was premature. Although Herzl was anxious to be able to report positive progress at the next Congress, in the coming summer, his nerves were becoming so frayed by the hostility in non-Zionist circles, on the one hand, and the excessive caution of some of his Zionist fellow workers, on the other, that at one stage he felt almost inclined to give way to the demand for postponement. But his father, whom he always consulted when faced by a critical decision (as in the case of the attempts to induce him not to publish *The Jewish State*), advised him not to give way and stiffened his resistance. Accordingly, the Jewish Colonial Trust was registered in London on March 20, 1899, and the date fixed for the opening of the subscription list was set as March 28. On the following day, he received a telegram from London, reporting that the total number of shares so far applied for was only eight thousand. He sank into a gloomy depression. In his Diary, he noted that he was now in one of those moods in which Faust made a compact with the devil. "If anybody today were to promise me the success of the subscription," he wrote, "I would at once barter him ten years of my life."

2

The Zionist leader was soon to be gravely preoccupied by another matter. Since he could not get the help of Kaiser or Tsar to secure an audience with the Sultan, he resolved to send Newlinsky to Constantinople, as he regarded him as the only one capable of achieving that object. The latter had been suffering from a bad heart for many years and was now in anything but satisfactory health. Herzl therefore consulted his family doctor, who said that Newlinsky could have an attack at any moment, whether in bed or on the

train. He also asked Newlinsky himself if he were willing to undertake the journey, and he replied that he was eager, especially as he wanted to go south, while an unspoken motive was doubtless the desire that the Zionists should insure his future. Herzl therefore engaged a young doctor, Proborski, to accompany him, and, on March 30, the two, together with the diplomat's wife, set out for Turkey. Three days later, Herzl received a telegram from the doctor in Constantinople, announcing that Newlinsky had suddenly died, that his body was being brought back, and asking for more money. He immediately dispatched a telegram to the widow, expressing his deepest sympathy, and informing her that he was sending a thousand francs to Proborski.

He was terribly shocked by the news and was afraid that he would be held responsible for Newlinsky's death. His distress was all the greater because his agent had the "best connections" in Constantinople and Rome and was "almost irreplaceable." In his Diary, he wrote: "With him there disappears from the romance of the Zionist movement one of the most remarkable figures. He was a *grand seigneur* who had fallen, sympathetic despite many a dubious quality, and of truly charming manners." He worried himself all night over the matter, alternately reproaching himself with having let Newlinsky go and defending himself with the fact that he had taken every possible precaution. He reflected that his agent had cost him personally a great deal of money, besides the subventions from the Executive. He had treated him so generously that he had not even asked for the return of the two thousand francs he had given him for the journey to Rome that was never made. On further consideration, he began to feel some doubt whether Newlinsky had really done anything or could have done anything to influence the Sultan favorably. At least, he had never given any proof of this,

apart from introducing the Zionist leader to some Turkish dignitaries—perhaps only as a member of the editorial staff of the *Neue Freie Presse*. On the other hand, Herzl felt easy in his conscience about recommending the subventions, as, if Newlinsky could not have done any service to the cause, he could have done it harm by describing the Zionists, in his *Correspondance de l'Est*, as dangerous enemies of Turkey or impotent boasters. Public rumor, which blamed the Zionists for the poor man's death, was soon exploded by his doctor, who published a letter in the *Neue Freie Presse*, certifying that Newlinsky had had heart disease for years.

Herzl went to the station to meet the widow and the coffin, and, after the funeral, he told Madame Newlinsky that her husband's monthly subvention of two hundred gulden would be continued on condition that she carried on his paper. But when he visited her a few days later to examine the books relating to what was regarded as an important publication, he made a sensational discovery. It had only twelve subscribers! He felt like one who had tracked down a forger's printing press for false notes. In the end, he converted the *Correspondance* into a French daily, called *Petit Journal de Vienne*, and placed it under the management of Kozmian, whose support for the cause he thus secured. The monthly subvention to the widow was continued, quite apart from the cost of the new journal.

3

Meanwhile, the worries caused by the bank by no means lessened. Herzl was thoroughly dissatisfied with the management in London, which he repeatedly accused of muddle and incompetence. Toward the end of April, he went to Cologne for a serious talk with Wolffsohn and Kann about the posi-

tion, and was somewhat relieved to hear that they estimated that the total number of shares that had been bought was two hundred thousand. As it was necessary that another fifty thousand shares should be subscribed before they could proceed to allotment, it was decided that Wolffsohn should try to form a consortium for the purpose.

When Herzl returned to Vienna, he felt some humiliation in having to apologize for absenting himself from the editorial office without previous permission. Who knew how long his chiefs would put up with such "escapades"? The movement required that he should make frequent journeys, and the *Neue Freie Presse* could dismiss him for non-fulfillment of his office duties. "This wretched conflict of duties," he wrote, "wearies, enervates, and wears me out more than anything else." He felt the sudden hope of a big move forward when he received a letter from Paris—from his friend Professor Kellner, who wrote that he had met Sir Ashmead Bartlett, M.P., and won him over to Zionism, and that this energetic politician was willing to intervene with the Sultan, but that the Zionists must find him a loan of one million pounds, as he was in a sore financial plight. Herzl at once wrote a letter to Ashmead Bartlett, explaining his plan for restoring Turkey's finances, but it led to nothing.

Another avenue that might help to lead him to his goal seemed to present itself when the Peace Conference convened by Tsar Nicholas II assembled in May at The Hague and was attended by representatives of twenty-six States. Baroness von Suttner wished to go there as special correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse*, but, as her offer was not accepted, Herzl engaged her to represent *Die Welt*, with the particular mission to interview leading statesmen about Zionism. The hopes that he placed in her services were reinforced by the satisfaction that he felt when Wolffsohn and Kann, who

came to Vienna, reported that the minimum number of shares of the bank required for allotment had now been subscribed and allotment would take place in June. Thereupon, he went to The Hague himself to derive what advantage for his cause that he could. He was interviewed by the famous journalist, W. T. Stead, and among the statesmen with whom he spoke was Leon Bourgeois, President of the French Chamber of Deputies.

He attached greater importance, however, to meeting Ivan Bloch, the Russian State Counsellor, who had inspired the Tsar to convene the Conference. He found him "a clever, cultured old Jewish merchant," kept in close touch with him, and eventually obtained a promise that Bloch would try to secure an audience for him with the Tsar. Herzl was also able to render a service to Bloch. When the German delegate, Professor Zorn, spoke against the proposal for setting up a Court of Arbitration, Herzl wrote a letter to the Grand Duke of Baden to inform him that this attitude would possibly result in the formation of a combination of States that favored the idea, to the exclusion of Germany, so that this information should be transmitted to Berlin. When he told Bloch of this letter, the latter asked for an extract, which he gave to the Russian Ambassador Staal, who telegraphed it to the Tsar. Herzl therefore hoped that his name would thus be brought to the favorable notice of the Tsar and his ministers. Another person of a different character whom he met was Nouri Bey, Secretary-General of the Turkish Foreign Office, who promised that he would introduce him to the Sultan's favorite, Tahsin Bey—in return, of course, for a very substantial *douceur*.

From The Hague, Herzl went to Paris, where a message reached him from Dr. Mandelstamm in Kiev, that the Russian Foreign Minister Witte, had issued an order forbidding the

distribution of all printed matter concerning the Jewish Colonial Trust. Herzl immediately wrote to Bloch to explain that this would have the effect of impeding the subscription of shares, and received a telegraphic reply from Bloch that he would try to intervene. In accordance with his usual practice, he stayed (on June 19) at the Hotel Castille, where he had written *The Jewish State* four years before. He commented on the fact in the following words: "What a road since then! And also what weariness. My heart is very tired. I suffer from oppression of the chest and irregular beatings of the pulse." But he could take no rest. Together with Nordau and Alexander Marmorek, he visited Narcisse Leven, President of the Jewish Colonization Association (as well as of the *Alliance Israélite*), who told them that the Association would be willing to support them as soon as they obtained a charter from the Sultan. A few days later, he was in London again, at the Hotel Cecil, together with Wolffsohn, primarily in the interests of the bank.

4

He again addressed a public meeting (on June 26), this time at St. Martin's Town Hall, and in English. He spoke in more guarded terms than he had used in his Assembly Hall speech the previous October, and stated that he had to observe "absolute silence about many a historically remarkable conversation" that he had had, even at the risk of his opponents maintaining that he had nothing to say. But he manifested no less confidence than before when he affirmed: "I don't know whether I shall experience it myself, but I am firmly convinced that people of my age will see the realization of our wish." A good part of the speech was devoted to a scathing attack upon the opponents of the bank, which,

he declared, was necessary in order to obtain a Charter from the Sultan for the colonizing of Palestine. He considered this attack, delivered in London, all the more imperative because the day for proceeding to the allotment of the Colonial Trust shares was now at hand. At the meeting of the bank committee on the following day, it was reported that fifty-seven thousand pounds in cash had been received in London on account of two hundred forty thousand shares subscribed by over one hundred thousand shareholders in all parts of the world. There was still some opposition to allotment, but it was overcome by the joint arguments of Herzl, Wolffsohn, and Kann, who urged that at least the requisite additional ten thousand shares would be subscribed, and, accordingly, allotment took place on June 28.

A few weeks later, the Zionist leader was relaxing at Reichenau, and began to think of what he would say at the forthcoming Congress. He was anxious to be able to report progress in the political field, and when he learned that von Bülow was taking a holiday at Semmering, he wrote to him again for an interview. It was now about nine months since the fruitless audience in Jerusalem, and Herzl still clung to the hope that the German Foreign Minister would become favorably disposed. He had not to wait long for a rebuff, which was excused on the ground of health. He therefore returned to Vienna, to attend to his journalistic duties and prepare for the Congress. He again felt in "the humiliating position of a clerk obliged to ask for leave." He wanted to stay away until the beginning of September, but Bacher sharply objected and he therefore promised to be back a week earlier. He went first to Darmstadt, where Hechler had arranged for him to be received by the Grand Duke of Hesse, whose sister was married to the Tsar of Russia. He asked the Grand Duke, who seemed friendly, to

interest his Imperial brother-in-law, on the occasion of his expected visit to his court, in the question of a Chartered Company for Palestine, and received an encouraging reply. But even while at Darmstadt, he wrote that he was more preoccupied with his new comedy, *The Sinful Mother*, than with his unfinished speech for the Congress or his negotiations with princes.

5

The Congress, which took place again at Basle, lasted from August 15 to 18, 1899. It was attended by a larger number of delegates than that of the preceding year, as the membership of the movement had increased by nearly a third in Russia and by a fourth in other countries. In his opening speech, Herzl announced that the next objective of Zionist policy was to obtain a Charter for Palestine from the Turkish Government, and referred to his audience before the gates of Jerusalem with the Kaiser, who had assured him of his benevolent interest. He was greeted, as at the previous Congresses, with tremendous applause; but this time he had also to listen to considerable criticism, expressed by some delegates in caustic and even vehement terms. There were three matters, in particular, in regard to which he was the object of attack or reproach. The first was the very optimistic language that he had used in his London speech the previous October. Leo Motzkin taunted him with having spoken with such emphasis as to convey the impression that Palestine would be theirs within two or three years. In defending himself, Herzl said that he had been powerfully influenced by some striking news that would have appeared incredible to others, but after this experience, if any new event of great promise occurred he would be careful not to say anything about it.

The second subject of considerable controversy, especially on the part of some Russian delegates, was the Jewish Colonial Trust. In reporting on the establishment and the constitution of the bank, Wolffsohn explained that, as anybody could become a shareholder, it was necessary to insure that the bank would always remain under Zionist control even if a large proportion of the shares fell into non-Zionist hands. They had therefore created one hundred founders' shares, which would have the same voting rights as all the remaining 1,999,900 shares; and those founders' shares, which would confer no pecuniary benefit of any kind, would be assigned to the members of the Actions Committee, who would constitute the *Aufsichtsrat* (Board of Control) and thus safeguard the Zionist character of the bank. Herzl and his colleagues on the Executive in Vienna were severely criticized because they had already allotted seven founders' shares to the actual founders of the bank. The critics demanded that all such assignments must be decided upon by the Congress itself. Herzl, however, insisted that these assignments must stand as a mark of gratitude to the founders, and, since he made this a question of confidence, he carried the day.

The third matter was not one of policy or principle but concerned the relation between the Vienna Executive and the members of the Actions Committee in other countries. Dr. Chaim Weizmann, then a young man of twenty-five, complained that the members in Russia had not been kept informed regularly or sufficiently of the activities of the Executive; and Herzl, in his reply, gave proof that the complaint was without justification. There were other delegates, too, who delivered their maiden speeches at this Congress and who in later years became very prominent in the movement. Among them were Nahum Sokolow, a distinguished Hebrew publicist from Warsaw, who took part in

the debate on "Culture" (a subject that was understood by the orthodox as something purely secular and, by others, in its general sense), and Leopold J. Greenberg, of London, destined to become Herzl's diplomatic representative in negotiations with the British Government. Another speaker from England, a man of aristocratic bearing, was Sir Francis Montefiore, Bart., President of the English Zionist Federation, who said that he had felt the keenest interest in the resettlement of the Jews in Palestine ever since he had heard his uncle of blessed memory, Sir Moses Montefiore, speak about it. The mention of that illustrious humanitarian, held in grateful esteem, particularly among the Jews in Eastern Europe, brought the entire assembly to its feet in a scene of fervid enthusiasm.

On his journey back to Vienna, Herzl noted in his Diary that the Congress had passed off "smoothly" and that "a good atmosphere" had again been attained. Fortunately, the continuance of activity had been made possible by a private loan from four Russian Zionists of five thousand gulden each, which would also enable him to promise Nouri Bey some baksheesh. On arriving home, he wrote to the Turk, offering to pay him twenty thousand francs¹ on the day that Herzl would be received by the Sultan to submit his Zionist project. He again had a feeling of humiliation as he returned to the office of the *Neue Freie Presse* and contrasted his position there as one of "mean slavery" with that of the freedom and mastery he had enjoyed at Basle. His annoyance was aggravated when Bacher said that he expected Herzl would now break loose from the movement, because the bank would "make a stench." He angrily retorted that the bank was cleaner than the Credit Anstalt, and that its founders derived

¹ Before the First World War twenty-four francs were equal to about five American dollars.

no pecuniary benefit from it. He had to keep in well with his chiefs, however, as he sorely missed the fifty thousand gulden (about ten thousand dollars) that he had already spent on the movement (half of it on *Die Welt*), and was more dependent on the *Neue Freie Presse* than ever before. He told the Zionist Executive that he had maintained *Die Welt* for more than two years entirely out of his own pocket, and that as he was unable to incur any further sacrifice, he had intended to let it die after the Third Congress, but that a Rumanian Zionist had offered to form a limited company to carry it on. In case a profit should eventually be realized on the capital he had already invested in it, he would not accept it but would devote it to Zionist propaganda.

When Nouri Bey arrived in Vienna toward the end of August, Herzl called on him at his hotel and found that he had raised his price for an audience with the Sultan to forty thousand francs. Herzl agreed to pay ten thousand in advance and the balance on the day of the audience. A couple of days later, Nouri Bey wrote that he wanted fifteen thousand francs in advance; but when Johann Kremenezky (a member of the Executive) called on him and handed him ten thousand, he accepted it with a smile and wrote out a receipt for the amount "due to me."

6

While awaiting some practical result from this baksheesh, Herzl again tried to obtain an audience with the Tsar. He sent Hechler, with a letter for the purpose, to the Duke of Hesse, but the errand was in vain. At the end of October, the newspapers reported that the Tsar would shortly visit the Grand Duke of Baden; whereupon Herzl wrote to the

Grand Duke, requesting that he should seek an audience for him, either in Baden, Darmstadt, or St. Petersburg. A fortnight later, he received a reply that the Grand Duke had spoken to the Tsar, who seemed favorably disposed, but that he was joined a few days later by his Foreign Minister, Muraviev, who was opposed. The Grand Duke therefore suggested that Herzl should draw up a memorandum in French, which he undertook to forward to the Tsar. Herzl complied with the suggestion, and in due course heard from the Grand Duke that he received an acknowledgment from St. Petersburg. He was becoming impatient at the lack of a response from Nouri Bey, and wrote to him that he wished to have an audience with the Sultan as early as possible, failing which there was a movement in favor of Jews settling in Cyprus. He thought that if he made no progress with the Turkish Government by the time of the Fourth Congress, in the summer of 1900, he would go to London to see the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Salisbury, about a settlement in Cyprus, and induce the Congress to approve such a project.

Meanwhile, owing to the heavy strain on his pocket, he was obliged to go on writing play after play. Much to his distaste, he revised an old farce, *Muttersöhnchen* ("Mother's Little Sons"), originally composed in 1885, and included a new part for a comedian, Girardi. He was also at work on a romance in which he tried to depict what Jewish life would be like in Palestine twenty years later, and which he entitled *Altneuland* ("Old-New Land"), a name suggested by the famous medieval synagogue in Prague, the *Altneuschul*. He felt that Zionism had injured his reputation as a "German author" and that, for this reason, he could not hope for promotion on the *Neue Freie Presse*. He resented the gossip

that he was making money out of the movement or doing the work out of vanity, and in a state of depression he wrote:

But should I collapse, then I shall receive plenty of kicks, and people will laugh at me and be ungrateful. Therefore no collapsing!

This mood was suddenly followed by the hope of brighter days. Early in December, Herzl heard a rumor that Bacher intended selling his interest in the *Neue Freie Presse* and retiring. He immediately thought of acquiring it, if he could. He spoke to his uncle, Moritz Reichenfeld, who said that he was prepared to find Herzl the money if Bacher were willing to sell. He then sounded Bacher himself, who replied that, although he would like to retire, he could not do so yet, and, in any case, he could not sell out to Herzl unless Benedikt agreed. Herzl did not think that Benedikt would agree. He had a talk with him and said that he wanted to be independent and start a paper of his own. Benedikt pointed out the risk of such a venture. Thereupon Herzl poured out his complaints about the treatment he received—his ludicrously small salary, his unsatisfactory position on the paper, its silence about Zionism, and his lack of liberty to go on important journeys. The result of these frank talks was that Benedikt and Bacher, anxious not to lose such a valuable pillar of their staff to some other paper, agreed to give Herzl the highest salary on their payroll, to place the entire literary department under his absolute control, and also to report objectively in the paper any practical achievement of Zionism.

Reassured about his future, Herzl resumed his political efforts. He wrote a letter to Nordau, requesting him to write to the Procurator of the Holy Synod in Russia, Pobiedonostzev, in support of his memorandum to the Tsar. He

also asked Baroness von Suttner to approach Count Muraviev and Ambassador Kapnist for the same purpose. He did not expect any response, nor did he receive any, but he did not want these three Russian dignitaries to imagine that he had circumvented them. A few days later, he received a letter from an agent of Nouri Bey in Constantinople, worded in rather cryptic and extravagant terms: it stated that good progress had been made and advised Herzl to be ready to leave as soon as he received a telegram requesting him to do so, as the Sultan was disposed to grant him an audience. But weeks went by and nothing happened.

At the end of December, 1899, Herzl had a talk with Oscar Straus, the American Ambassador to Turkey, who was passing through Vienna. Straus said that, being "an official person," he was neither for nor against Zionism. He regarded Palestine as unattainable, owing to the opposition of the Greek and Roman Catholic Churches, but was in favor of Mesopotamia, the original home of Israel. He spoke very disparagingly of the Sultan and his mercenary ministers, and promised to send the Zionist leader any hints that might be of use to him, under the pseudonym of "Mesopotamicus."

On January 30, 1900, five months after he had given Nouri Bey his handsome bribe, Herzl heard that he had arrived in Vienna. As the Turk had traveled on without troubling to get into touch with him, he was afraid he had been defrauded. Herzl therefore sent him a reminder, urging the desirability of obtaining the oft-discussed audience. In response, he received from the agent the draft of a letter that Herzl should write him in return and that could be shown to the Sultan to induce him to bestow the favor. The only result of his complying with this instruction was to receive, in the middle of March, a further request from the agent for a new letter, intended for Izzet Bey, the Sultan's favorite,

setting forth the purpose of the audience more clearly. Herzl therefore composed the required note, elaborating his plans and the financial services that he would render the Sultan, and dispatched it with a prayer.

7

In the early part of 1900, he was again in a state of depression. The first performance of his comedy, *I Love You*, at the Burg Theatre, was loudly hissed at the end, a demonstration that, he thought, could not have been due to the simple play itself but which he attributed to the author's identification with Zionism. "I dare not live from Zionism," he wrote, "I shall not live from literature. A problem!" But what worried him much more was that there was no news from Constantinople, and the only news about the bank was bad. Letters, some signed and others anonymous, poured in upon him from England, warning him that there was a state of disorder at the bank and that the management was utterly incompetent. He felt that it was necessary to go to London to investigate, but he could not absent himself without risking his position on the paper. In both Russia and Rumania, the movement was checked by the economic crisis, which also affected the Jews. From Dr. Mandelstamm, he received a message that the Chief of Police in Odessa had threatened to suppress Zionist activity; he therefore sent him a copy of the memorandum submitted to the Tsar, to serve as a sort of "charm."

Even in Galicia, the Governor had issued a rescript to all Jewish communities, forbidding subscriptions for the Jewish Colonial Trust as "disloyal." Herzl therefore had an interview with the Austrian Premier, Koerber, and asked that those who had already paid deposits on shares (there were

nearly six thousand who had subscribed for fourteen thousand shares) should, in view of the humanitarian purpose of the Trust, be allowed to complete their payments. The Premier agreed not to enforce the rescript, on condition that there be no publicity about the matter, and Herzl promised that, when the Colonial Trust began operations, it would apply to the Government for formal permission to do business in the country. After discussing Zionism, Koerber asked Herzl his views on current questions of Austrian politics, particularly about a proposed Language Law (necessitated by the variety of nationalities in the Austrian Empire), and was so favorably impressed by Herzl's suggestions that he invited his cooperation in the formulation of his proposals and even in the drafting of his speech to Parliament. He had several long and confidential talks with the Zionist leader (at which he always gave him a good cigar) on Austrian affairs, and displayed not only friendliness but deference to his advice. Herzl was glad of the opportunity to render him some service, in the hope that he would be introduced to the Foreign Minister, Count Goluchowski, from whom he was anxious to obtain a recommendation to the Sultan. At the request of Koerber, Herzl even furnished him with an elaborate series of suggestions on methods to be adopted in the expected general election, so as to insure the victory of a Center Party that would form the main support of the Government.

The Zionist leader was soon on his travels again. In the middle of April, he went to Karlsruhe, where he had another long talk with the Grand Duke of Baden. It was most interesting politically, but yielded nothing of practical value. The Grand Duke explained that, owing to the international situation, it was inexpedient for Germany to assume a Protectorate in Palestine, and advised Herzl to obtain a recom-

mendation to the Sultan from the Austrian Government. Herzl went on to Paris, where he discussed the Zionist situation with Nordau, and then to London, where his first engagement was the fulfillment of an earlier invitation from the Poet Laureate, Alfred Austin. The latter lived with his wife in a beautiful country house at Ashford (in Kent), and Herzl was charmed with the refinement of the place and the friendly hospitality, including a night's stay, that he received. His primary purpose was not to discuss poetry but to obtain an introduction to Lord Salisbury. Austin readily agreed to write a letter to the Foreign Secretary, and read it over to Herzl before sending it off; but Salisbury replied that, owing to the political situation (the Boer War being then in progress), he could not grant the desired interview.

On returning to London, Herzl attended a reception in his honor at the Hotel Great Central, arranged by the English Zionist Federation. He was welcomed by Dr. Gaster, who was in the chair, and also by the Rev. Dr. Joseph H. Hertz, of Johannesburg, who had been expelled from the Transvaal by President Kruger for siding with the British (and who was elected several years later, in 1913, Chief Rabbi of the Anglo-Jewish community), and by Clarence de Sola, President of the Canadian Zionist Federation.² He was less concerned, however, with this reception than with the Jewish Colonial Trust, whose unsatisfactory condition continued to worry him. He had called a meeting of directors, but neither Wolffsohn nor Kann—the two most important—had attended. They absented themselves because of their resentment at his going over their heads in issuing instructions to the secretary of the bank, and the friction that re-

² It was at this reception, on April 23, 1900, that the author was introduced to Theodor Herzl by the latter's honorary secretary in London, Jacob de Haas.

sulted from his unconstitutional zeal led to Kann sending in his resignation and Wolffsohn offering to do likewise. As Kann was a professional banker and Wolffsohn an experienced and successful businessman, they regarded his interference as a reflection upon their competence and reliability. It was not until Wolffsohn, through some candid letters, had persuaded his leader to leave the management of the bank to those best qualified to direct it that friendly relations between them were restored. Their relations became even more intimate, and from that time, Herzl called Wolffsohn "Daade."

It was again with some anxiety that he returned to Vienna on May 1, as he felt unsure about the way in which Benedikt and Bacher would regard his latest absence. To mollify them, he had sent them a feuilleton from Paris and another from London, and, on examining the latest numbers of the *Neue Freie Presse*, he found that only the second one had been used. His apprehensions, however, were unfounded, as he met with no reproof; and he was soon immersed once more in Zionist affairs. He received a letter from Nouri's agent, Moi, requesting a further exposition, whereupon he replied, rather tartly, that he had already sent him enough expositions, and that, if he could not get the audience with the Sultan, it would be better if he said so. Dr. Alexander Marmorek, who happened to be in Vienna at the time, informed Herzl that he believed he had discovered a cure for tuberculosis and would be able to publish it in two or three months. Herzl was somewhat skeptical, but nevertheless obtained a promise from Marmorek to entrust the commercial exploitation of the expected cure to the Jewish Colonial Trust. He hoped that it would prove such a financial success that the bank would be put firmly on its feet.

8

A new source of worry began in the latter half of May. Herzl received a telegram from Dr. Lippe, of Jassy, stating that a large number of Rumanian Jews, who were fleeing from distress and oppression and were anxious to emigrate to America, were stopped on the frontier of Bukowina, and were appealing for his intervention. He immediately wrote to Premier Koerber, asking him to telegraph instructions to the local authorities to allow the refugees to enter the country. The plight of these Rumanian Jews was only one of several important problems that engaged the attention of the Actions Committee, which met in Vienna for a few days' conference, for although the Zionist Organization was not concerned with questions of philanthropy, its assistance was invoked nevertheless. The conference decided that the next Congress should be held in August in London, and Herzl hoped that it would form a significant landmark in the progress of the movement. His hopes were particularly fired after his first meeting with Arminius Vambery, the famous traveler (1831-1913).

Herzl must undoubtedly have been familiar previously with the name of Vambery, born like himself in Hungary, who had become internationally famous on account of his adventurous journeys through Central Asia and his books about them, and who was known to enjoy the friendship of Sultan Abdul Hamid. That he had hitherto refrained from seeking the help of his distinguished fellow Jew and fellow countryman, in his efforts to reach the Sultan, may have been due to the thought that the romantic explorer was too old to become politically active or that he was not in sympathy with the Zionist idea. It was therefore not until he read in the papers, at the beginning of June, 1900, that

Vambéry had suddenly gone to Constantinople, that he decided to get into touch with him. As soon as Vambéry was back from Turkey, Herzl went to see him at Mühlbach (in the Tyrol).³ He was strongly impressed by the limping yet vigorous septuagenarian, who wrote his works in German, spoke twelve languages with equal perfection, and had professed five religions, in two of which he had been a priest. Vambéry immediately took a liking to Herzl, told him how he had begun his career in Turkey by singing in coffee houses and had become the intimate friend of the Grand Vizier eighteen months later. He confided that he was both a British secret agent (thanks to Disraeli)⁴ and a Turkish secret agent, and showed him many secret Turkish documents, including some notes in the Sultan's own handwriting. After Herzl had explained the object of his visit, Vambéry said: "I don't want any money; I am a rich man. I can't eat golden beefsteaks, I possess a quarter-of-a-million and don't need half of my interest. If I help you, it's for the sake of the cause." Herzl asked him to write to the Sultan, requesting that he receive Herzl, because the latter could be of service to him in the press and because the mere fact of the audience would increase his Majesty's prestige.

After returning to Vienna, Herzl wrote to Vambéry, urging him to procure the audience before the Congress. "I know," he concluded, "what you want to erect for yourself with your autobiography: a royal sepulchre. Crown your pyramid with the chapter 'How I helped to prepare the

³ Herzl's approach to Vambéry was first suggested by Tobias Markus and his wife, of Florence, who were friends of the famous traveler and visited him at Mühlbach immediately after the Congress of 1898, to secure his support for the Zionist leader (*Die Welt*, May 20, 1910, p. 488).

⁴ In *The Story of My Struggles* (pp. 385-386) Vambéry denies that he was ever a secret agent of England, but admits that he at one time received a modest yearly income for working for the defense of India.

homecoming of my people, the Jews.' The whole of your remarkable life will then appear as if it were intended to lead to that." Vambery replied that he could not do anything with the Sultan by letter, whereupon Herzl wrote again, emphasizing that he had no time to lose, and reminding him of what Disraeli had once said to a young Jew: "You and I belong to a race who can do everything but fail." Vambery's answer was that he had sent the Sultan a letter but was not sure that it would reach him.

Herzl's incessant exertions began to tell upon him. On June 20, while in the office of *Die Welt*, he had an attack of cerebral *anemia* and his consciousness suddenly became clouded, so that, instead of going to the *Neue Freie Presse*, he went home to lie down. The doctor ordered him two or three days' rest, but that was impracticable. Telegrams continued to pour in from the Rumanian refugees, who wired from the frontier or from Budapest that he should await them. The task of coming to their relief was beyond his province and his means, and he was all the more distressed because a report had appeared in the Hungarian press that he had organized the Rumanian exodus in the interest of Zionist propaganda—a slander that he promptly rebutted in *Die Welt*. He called on the Premier, Koerber, to discuss the problem: if the refugees were admitted, they would prove an embarrassment; on the other hand, if they were excluded, Austria would be called anti-Semitic. He mentioned that he had sought advice from the Grand Duke of Baden, who suggested that Herzl should obtain an audience through the Austrian Government with the Sultan, with a view to the refugees being permitted to settle in Turkey. Koerber replied that he would see what he could do to get him a hearing, but nothing resulted. Herzl then wrote to Vambery again, asking that he wire the Sultan to agree to the ad-

mission of the homeless Jews from Rumania, as the Sultan would thus stand forth as "a benefactor of humanity" and be acclaimed by Jews throughout the world. But the request was in vain. He had now to turn his mind to the forthcoming Congress in London, and he therefore wrote a letter to Nouri Bey, whom he had given ten thousand francs ten months before, asking him to draft a letter in which Herzl would express his homage to the Sultan on the eve of the Congress, and to insure that a friendly and encouraging reply from the Yildiz Kiosk would be dispatched immediately.

9

Such was the situation when the Zionist leader arrived in London for the Fourth Congress, which was to begin in the Queen's Hall on August 13. It looked at first as though he would be unable to attend the opening session, as he was laid up at the Langham Hotel for three days with a violent feverish cold and had to have a nurse day and night. But, fortunately, he recovered in time to deliver his inaugural address to the largest Congress that had yet assembled. There were four hundred delegates from all parts of the world, half of them from Russia, and the big muster of press correspondents included representatives of all the leading English papers, to which Herzl attached special importance, for it was primarily to make the movement known to the British public and to gain its sympathy that the English capital had been chosen. He began with a complimentary reference to the country as "one of the last places of refuge free from anti-Semitism," where Jews enjoyed complete liberty and human rights; and, after reasserting the aim of Zionism and stressing the need of developing Palestine as a civilized station on the road to

Asia, he apostrophized England in a passage that proved to be truly prophetic:

England the great, England the free, England whose gaze sweeps over all the seas will understand us and our aims. From here the Zionist idea will take a farther and higher flight: of that we may be sure.

He reproached his opponents with hindering the progress of the movement, and reaffirmed the intention to strive for a Charter for settlement in Palestine. He taunted the advocates of philanthropy as the only method of solving the Jewish question with their inactivity in face of the calamity of the Rumanian Jews, suggested that the Congress should include among its tasks the devising of a mutual insurance system that could be applied in such emergencies, and declared that, though they would have to wait yet a while for final success, Judaism would produce an idealism that would assuredly attain the great goal.

The plight of the Rumanian Jews, who had been cheated of the civil equality promised them by their Government in the Berlin Treaty of 1878, was further stressed by Max Nordau in his address on the general situation of the Jews, and details of the latest incidents were given by Oskar Marmorek. There followed reports upon other outstanding questions—the growth of the movement, problems of organization and propaganda, the Jewish Colonial Trust, and the physical and economic betterment of the Jews in Eastern Europe. In England, the number of Zionist societies had increased from 16 to 39, in the United States from 103 to 135, in Russia from under 900 to over 1,000, while in all other countries there had likewise been progress. The bank, however, had not yet been able to begin operations, since, instead of the requisite paid-up capital of two hundred fifty thousand

pounds, the total amount subscribed was only about half of that. Upon all these matters there were animated debates, but upon none did the discussion assume such a vehement character as upon the question of Jewish culture, on which the views expressed by Gaster and Sokolow met with the opposition of the orthodox Rabbis from Russia, so that no resolution was submitted.

There were various functions outside the Queen's Hall—a mass meeting in the East End, at which speeches were made by Herzl, Nordau, Zangwill, and other important figures; a garden party at the Botanical Gardens, at which Herzl was mobbed by the jubilant crowd; a public dinner, and a trip up the Thames. The Zionist leader felt more fatigued at this Congress in the hurly-burly of London than at the previous ones in the somnolent city of Basle, and, in his desire for a brief respite, one afternoon he left the chair to Nordau and Gaster, and escaped to Kensington Gardens, to sip a cup of tea under the shade of a tree facing the silvery Serpentine. On another day, he had lunch at the house of Sir Francis Montefiore with Lord Salisbury's private secretary, Eric Barrington, whom he succeeded in interesting. But although the Congress did not signify any notable advance, and "there was much noise, sweat, and drum-beating," he nevertheless summed up the result as "excellent," for, as he wrote in his Diary, "we have demonstrated before the English world, and note has been taken of the demonstration. The English papers on the whole have brought such reports as we could need and do need."

XII

Negotiations with the Sultan

AFTER THE LONDON CONGRESS, HERZL WENT TO AUSSEE, NEAR Salzburg, for a short holiday, to recover from the exhaustion of the last few weeks. But he was no sooner back in Vienna than he went to Budapest, on September 16, 1900, for another talk with Vambery, to urge him again to secure him an audience with the Sultan. Vambery gave him his word of honor that Abdul Hamid would receive him not later than the following May. Herzl wondered how he could make so definite a promise, but he had to rest content, and returned home. He was again in a state of dejection when he contrasted the position of authority that he had enjoyed at the Congress with the subservience that he felt when he made his daily appearance before his chief, Dr. Bacher, to report and receive instructions; and the mood was aggravated when he thought of the heavy financial sacrifices that he had incurred on behalf of the movement. It was now a year since he had seen Nouri Bey and greased his palm, and he therefore wrote him a letter pointing out that nothing had happened. He added that he had heard from Constantinople that the question of building a railway to Hedjaz was under consideration, and that, if he received the Charter, he would undertake the project or provide the funds. The only thing that gave him satisfaction was the news that the English Zionist Federation had canvassed the views on Zionism of Parliamentary candidates in the impending general election,

and that declarations of sympathy had been received from sixty, of whom more than half were elected.

Suddenly, a new encouraging prospect seemed to present itself. Early in October, he was invited by the Austrian Premier, Koerber, to call upon him, and, in the course of an hour's conversation about domestic politics, he suggested the desirability of having "a big respectable paper" to back up the Government. The idea appealed to the Premier, who said that there would be no difficulty in finding the money and asked Herzl to think it over and come to see him again. A week later, they had another talk about the matter, and, although they did not go into details, Herzl thought that it might lead to his independence. His mind was soon diverted, however, from this speculation, as he received a letter in the middle of October from Nouri Bey, stating that the Turkish Government urgently wanted a loan of seven to eight hundred thousand pounds, and that, if Herzl provided it, he would be received by the Sultan. This communication was the beginning of a protracted correspondence that dragged on for months, in the course of which the amount of the loan required and the rate of interest varied from time to time, and which terminated only when Vambery's promise was actually realized.

Herzl replied to Nouri that he was prepared to offer the loan only on condition that he could negotiate with the Sultan personally, and that he would not do anything unless he were invited for this purpose. Ten days later, he had a visit from the Turkish Consul-General in Budapest, who brought a letter from Nouri's agent, Crespi, who was also in Constantinople, offering his services as a mediator with the Sultan. Crespi wished to come to Vienna to discuss the business, but wanted one thousand francs for his expenses. Herzl was willing to pay this sum if Crespi could achieve

something positive. Then came a telegram from Crespi, inquiring whether Herzl could advance two hundred thousand pounds on account, to which he replied that this sum would be available eight days after his reception at Yildiz Kiosk. Through the medium of Wolffsohn, Herzl obtained a letter from Jacobus Kann, a partner in the old and reputable Dutch bank of Lissa and Kann, stating that they were willing to provide a loan of eight hundred thousand Turkish pounds at 6 per cent against adequate security, and would give the first two hundred thousand pounds on the signing of the contract. Herzl sent this letter to Vambery, as proof of his financial capacity, and asked him to inquire of the Sultan if the loan proposition was to be taken seriously, in which case he, Vambery, would come to Constantinople and would be followed by Herzl. At length, and after further correspondence, Crespi arrived in Vienna on December 3. He told Herzl that he must not say anything to the Sultan about Zionism, but speak only about the advance payment, as the Turks were afraid that, if the Zionists entered Palestine, the Powers would intervene and take possession of the land. In the middle of this political colloquy, Kremenezky came in and handed Crespi one thousand francs, for which he was given a receipt. The Executive had had such difficulty (owing to their financial straits) in finding this relatively small sum that Herzl, in his Diary, commented on the irony of the situation, since they spoke so freely about millions for the Sultan. The treasury of the Turkish Government was likewise in a sorry plight: its Vienna Ambassador had received no salary for twelve months and was threatening resignation and exposure.

Anxious to find out why he had not received any reply from Constantinople in regard to his offer, Herzl sent Wolffsohn to Berlin to call on the Turkish Ambassador in that

capital, Ahmed Tewfik, and to present him with a copy of his *Philosophical Tales* in a handsome cover. The Ambassador said that he knew nothing about the matter and, at the same time, declared that Jews would be welcome in all parts of the Ottoman Empire except Palestine. Disappointed by this news, Herzl again went to Budapest to see Vambery, and they arranged that Herzl should write him a letter in French, for transmission to the Sultan, stating that he had offered a loan of seven hundred thousand pounds at very reasonable interest, but that it had not even been acknowledged. The only response from Constantinople was an announcement by a semi-official news agency that the Government had forbidden the entry of Jews into Palestine because "Zionism wanted to create a Kingdom of Judaea." Indignant at this manifestation of hostility, Herzl sent another long letter to Vambery, asking him to write to the Sultan that Herzl had always shown the greatest goodwill toward him and had sung his praises in the press, that, as soon as he heard that the Turkish Government was in need of money, he had offered a loan on the most favorable terms, and that the only response of the Government was to prohibit Jewish immigration into Palestine. Vambery was to impress upon Abdul Hamid the desirability of inviting Herzl immediately for a talk, as he would gain in him a friend useful in the press and in finance; whereas, if he persisted in his attitude, Herzl would persuade all his financial friends to refuse him any help when he was in urgent need of it. Vambery replied to Herzl that he had communicated the contents of his letter in full to the Sultan but did not expect anything to result from it.

2

Herzl's mind was suddenly diverted from this question of political finance to the project of a new Vienna daily. On January 4, 1901, three months after his last talk with the Austrian Premier, the latter sent for him again to discuss the matter. Koerber informed him that a group of industrialists were prepared to buy the *Neue Freie Presse* or to start a new paper of similar standing, and asked him to see Count Auersperg, a high official with the title of Ministerial Counsellor, who was acting as a go-between. Herzl therefore called on Auersperg, who confirmed the news: the group was willing to invest seven hundred thousand gulden, and wished to establish a new daily to enlighten the public in regard to the Government's impending commercial treaties; and they also wanted to know what it would cost to buy the *Neue Freie Presse*, if it were for sale. Herzl naturally assumed, as he had been chosen by the Premier and the Count as their confidant and adviser, that he was to be the editor, and he immediately began to build castles in Spain. He saw himself at last free and independent, occupying a position of dignity and influence in the Continental newspaper world, and enjoying an income that would provide him liberally with every comfort. He even told his parents that he would give his poor relatives a monthly allowance.

Count Auersperg introduced Herzl to the two industrialists, Arthur Krupp and a Herr Scholler, who stated that they were prepared to pay four to five million gulden for the *Neue Freie Presse*. Herzl replied that he would have to leave the paper before he could begin to negotiate for its purchase, and that he would require a contract. There were two further prolonged discussions, in which they considered the title of the paper, its policy, and Herzl's remuneration. He

wanted a salary of twenty-four thousand gulden ¹ a year and shares in the newspaper to the value of one hundred thousand gulden, or, if he effected the purchase of the *Neue Freie Presse*, shares to the value of two hundred thousand gulden. He had a talk with the Premier in the latter's private residence to secure his support. Day after day then followed without Herzl hearing anything further, either from the financiers or from Auersperg, and he began to fear that the project had fallen through. To what could this be due? Had he asked for too much? He worried about the matter so much, suffering from sleepless nights, that he would accept whatever salary was offered, as he was so anxious to gain his liberty. On the other hand, if he failed to get the editorship, he consoled himself with the thought that such a position would entail disadvantages, since he would be unable to produce anything more of a creative nature and he would be exposed to attacks from all sides. To expedite a decision, he wrote on January 28 to the Premier and the Count that he was leaving Vienna early in February for a fortnight, unless he was wanted for something important. The Count responded by returning him his draft contract. It meant that his dream was shattered. The project had been dropped without any reason having been given.

Herzl's dejection was aggravated by the lack of progress in regard to the proffered loan to Turkey. There had been further letters from the agent Crespi, but of a dilatory and irrelevant character, and, in one of them, the rapacious Turk even had the effrontery to ask for a monthly salary of one to two thousand francs. Herzl replied: "Get me the audience first, and we shall see later about appointing you as correspondent at one thousand to fifteen hundred francs." In his Diary, on January 30, he gave expression to his bitter

¹ About five thousand dollars.

disappointment that he had lost so much time over Crespi and the big industrialists' plan for a newspaper: "Three months torn away out of my life, piecemeal, in 'great expectations.'" He had now to go off to London, and it would be three weeks before he would be able to sit down again at his desk. Mournfully he wrote:

The wind is howling through the stubble. I feel my autumn coming. I run the risk of leaving no work behind to the world and no fortune to my children.

He particularly regretted that he had been neglecting his romance, *Altneuland*, and resolved that he would continue it as soon as he returned.

He next conceived the idea of acquiring the Ottoman Public Debt, which hung like a millstone round the neck of the Turkish Government, and handing it over to the Sultan in return for the Charter. On February 4, he was in Paris, where he sought to interest Benno Reitlinger, a Zionist millionaire (in francs), in the matter, but Reitlinger pointed out that it would be necessary to form a big syndicate to guarantee the amount required, and he saw no possibility of doing this. Four days later, he was in London, where he was anxious to see the first Lord Rothschild (1840–1915), on the project, but Israel Zangwill's efforts to obtain an introduction for him through the mediation of Rothschild's cousin, Lady Battersea, proved in vain. He therefore returned to Vienna, where he received another telegram from Crespi in Constantinople, asking him to renew his offer of a loan made in the previous November. He replied that he would do nothing until he had been invited to Yildiz Kiosk. His nerves were sorely tried by the appearance of another report in the *Politische Korrespondenz*, on February 25, that Jewish immigration into Palestine was forbidden. He there-

fore wrote to Nordau to initiate Parliamentary intervention in Paris and Rome, to Joseph Cowen (a Zionist leader, 1868–1932, in England) to do the same in London, and to Professor Richard Gottheil to do likewise in Washington. But the prohibition remained in force.

3

It was at this stage, on March 1, that Professor Leon Kellner, an intimate friend of Herzl's, revived a suggestion that had occupied the mind of the Zionist leader before—namely, that he should move to London. Herzl felt that he would have greater freedom of movement there and be able to exercise stronger influence both through the direction of the Zionist Bureau and through *Die Welt*, which would, of course, also have to be transferred. But it would be necessary that he be appointed London correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse* for five to ten years, with an adequate salary. When he broached the suggestion a few weeks later to Benedikt, the latter was at first unwilling to consider it, but since he did not wish to lose so valuable a member of his editorial staff he finally acquiesced, although he remarked that Herzl was too good for a foreign correspondent. Another motive that actuated Benedikt was the thought that, in London, Herzl would give up Zionism and after a few years return a different man. "What an idea!" exclaimed Herzl. "I shall never give it up!" His wife would have been willing to accompany him with their children, but, when he mentioned the matter to his parents, they were so deeply upset and so strongly opposed to going to London that he abandoned the idea.

Meanwhile, he was working hard on his novel about Palestine as a Jewish land. "Hopes of success in the practical

field," he wrote, "have evaporated. My life is now no romance, so the romance is my life." He envisaged tremendous economic developments in the Holy Land, and discussed with Kremenezky and Seidener, both engineers, the establishment of a brick factory there, in connection with a Jaffa branch of the Jewish Colonial Trust. He also gave serious thought to the purchase, with part of the capital of the Trust, of the shares of the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway, proposed by David Levontin, whom he had brought from Russia to act as the new manager of the Trust. And he likewise contemplated buying the shares of a Mediterranean shipping company, which was in a bad way, but which he thought he could restore to a sound condition.

As he continued to receive letters from Crespi about the loan, Herzl went to Budapest again on April 10, for a talk with Vambery. The latter informed him that he was going to see the Sultan, who wished to establish good relations with King Edward VII, whose friendship Vambery enjoyed, and that he would at the same time press his Majesty to call for Herzl as one who could render him important services. Toward the end of April, after Vambery had been in Constantinople a week, Herzl received a telegram from him, asking him to come again to Budapest. He first went to Aussee, to make arrangements for the summer holidays, and, during the journey there and back, he pored over *Rome and Jerusalem*, the first critical exposition of Jewish nationalism, by Moses Hess (1812-1875), a German political writer, which he had first begun to read in Jerusalem in 1898 but was unable then to finish. He was fascinated and elated as he followed the brilliant argumentation, and wrote in his Diary: "Everything that we attempted is already in his book. . . . Since Spinoza Jewry has not produced a greater mind than this forgotten, faded Moses Hess!" On reaching home, he

received another message from Crespi, stating that the Sultan was detaining Vambery for another few days and would definitely receive Herzl, but not until after Vambery had left. At the same time, Crespi wished to know whether the previous promises of payment for the audience held good. Herzl replied that all promises would be fulfilled.

It was his birthday, May 2, and in his Diary he wrote:

Today I am forty-one years of age.

"The wind is howling through the stubble,

I surely must my pace redouble . . ."

It will soon be six years since I began this movement, which has made me old, tired, and poor.

It was not a happy birthday, apart from the news about the prospective audience, as unpleasant reports reached him from the east and west: the Russian Zionists did not want another such Congress as that in London, "void of content," in July, and without a Congress there would be no shekel income, while, in London, the Jewish Colonial Trust was still unable to begin operations. In a state of eager anticipation, he welcomed Vambery back in Budapest on May 7. The veteran traveler reported that he had told the Sultan that he had been invited to London by King Edward, and he therefore wished to know whether his Majesty required him to do anything for him. Secondly, Vambery had impressed upon the Sultan that public opinion must be changed in his favor, and it was therefore necessary that he should receive "one of the most respected and influential journalists." He had to call on the capricious potentate six times before he could persuade him to see Herzl, but, said Vambery: "You must not speak to him about Zionism; that is a phantasmagoria." He furnished Herzl with letters of recommendation to the Sultan's First Secretary, Tahsin Bey, and

to his confidant, a Hungarian Jew, Dr. Wellisch, who was a Turkish official. He could not explain why he had to leave Constantinople before Herzl would be received, but it had been arranged that Ibrahim Bey, the introducer of Ambassadors, would act as interpreter.

Herzl then returned to Vienna to make arrangements for his momentous journey. He convened a meeting of the Zionist Executive in his home and secured unanimous consent to borrow money from the Jewish Colonial Trust to pay for the audience, since its object was to obtain the Charter. He invited one of its members, Oskar Marmorek, to join him, and wired to David Wolffsohn to do likewise. He thereupon went to the *Neue Freie Presse* to put his manuscripts in order, was relieved to find that Benedikt and Bacher were not there, wrote a letter to the former that he would be away ten to fourteen days "to think matters over" (in accordance with the friendly advice previously given him by Benedikt), and enclosed in it the key to his desk. His Diary now filled eight books, and in the concluding entry, on May 9, he wrote: "On the way I shall begin a new book. What will it contain? At Whitsun it will be six years—no, sixty years—since I entered the Zionist movement."

4

A few days later, together with Wolffsohn and Marmorek, he was in Constantinople, at the Hotel Royal, where he had been with Newlinsky five years before, but, as he gazed at the Golden Horn, he was not moved by its beauty as deeply as he had been on the occasion of his first visit. His dominant emotion was that evoked by the gravity of his mission. Wellisch proved a friendly and helpful guide throughout Herzl's stay in the Turkish capital, and lost no time in conducting

him to Tahsin Bey, the Sultan's First Secretary, to arrange about the audience. But before this took place, Crespi called to remind Herzl of the promise to pay him a monthly salary of fifteen hundred francs; and, although Vambery had told Herzl that the Crespi-Nouri group had not done and could not do anything for him, he nevertheless agreed to keep his promise if he could submit his whole plan to the Sultan and if a commission was appointed to study the project. He also thought it advisable to give Crespi one thousand francs to begin with, and to increase this to fifteen hundred a month if a commission were set up.

On May 17, Herzl drove with Wellisch to Yildiz Kiosk for the long-awaited reception by Sultan Abdul Hamid. He was welcomed by Tahsin Bey, who introduced him to Ibrahim Bey, the Master of Ceremonies, and the latter led him into the chamber where the ambassadors were assembled. Presently, Ibrahim informed him that his Majesty proposed to confer upon him the Order of the Medjidje, second class. Herzl refused this, as beneath his dignity, whereupon Ibrahim retired and soon returned, beaming, with the news that his Majesty was pleased to award him the Grand Cordon of the Medjidje, the Order of the highest class. This preliminary over, Ibrahim ushered him into the audience chamber, where he was greeted by a small thin man, with hook-nose, long yellow teeth (one of which was missing), dyed beard, and weak, trembling voice, wearing an imposing uniform, with brilliant decorations, colored cuffs, and a fez pressed down over his forehead. This was the mighty ruler of the Ottoman Empire. He gave Herzl his hand, and sat on a divan, with a sword between his legs, while Herzl seated himself on an armchair facing him. Ibrahim remained as interpreter.

The Sultan began by saying that he always read the *Neue*

Freie Presse (although he was ignorant of German), and was pleased there were such friendly relations between Turkey and Austria. Herzl replied that he was devoted to his Majesty because he was good to the Jews, and he was prepared to render him any great service. The Sultan observed that he was and had always been a friend of the Jews and relied only upon Moslems and Jews. Herzl deplored the injustices that the Jews suffered throughout the world, and then continued: "When Professor Vambery informed me that his Majesty wished to receive me, I could not help thinking of the fine old fable about Androcles and the lion. His Majesty is the lion, perhaps I am Androcles, and perhaps there is a thorn to be removed." He explained that he regarded the Ottoman Public Debt as the thorn, and, if that could be removed, Turkey could develop its vital strength anew. The Sultan replied that, since his accession, he had tried in vain to remove the thorn that he had inherited from his distinguished predecessors, and that, if Herzl could help to do so, it would indeed be helpful.

Herzl said that he believed he could, but that the first and fundamental condition was absolute secrecy. The potentate lifted his eyes to heaven, placed his hand on his breast, and murmured: "Secret, secret!" Herzl explained that he could carry out the operation on all the stock exchanges of Europe, through his friends, if only he had the support of his Majesty, which must consist of a special pro-Jewish declaration to be made known in a suitable manner and at a suitable time. The Sultan replied that he could make a pro-Jewish statement to his Court jeweler, who was a Jew, and ask him to put it into the papers. He could also say something to the Chief Rabbi, the *Haham Bashi*. Herzl declined these suggestions, as such statements would not go beyond Turkey; besides, he had heard that the Chief Rabbi spat at the mention

of his name. He would take the liberty of intimating later the right moment for the announcement, which must be of an imposing character. He continued by saying that what the country needed was the industrial energy of the Jews, who would remain in the land, unlike the Europeans who enriched themselves in it and hastened away with their spoil. The Sultan observed that in Turkey there were unexploited treasures—petroleum springs near Bagdad richer than those of the Caucasus, besides gold and silver mines.

Suddenly, the Sultan asked Herzl if he could recommend him a capable financier who could create new sources of revenue. Herzl replied that it was a great responsibility to recommend somebody of whose probity, as well as competence, he was convinced, but that he would think the matter over. The Sultan then said that he wished to effect the unification of the State Debt by taking up a new loan in place of the old, and thus realize a profit of one million five hundred thousand pounds, to cover the previous year's deficit. "What? So little?" exclaimed Herzl with a shrug of the shoulders. He outlined various economic plans, in the realization of which his friends Wolffsohn and Marmorek could be helpful, but the Sultan would not consider these for the present and asked Herzl to occupy himself solely with the abolition of the Public Debt. The conversation had now lasted two hours and the Sultan had nothing more to say, so it ended by Herzl repeating that their understanding must remain a deep secret, that a pro-Jewish declaration must be made at the suitable moment, and that he should receive an exact account of the financial situation and the unification project. All three demands were promised.

5

After the audience, Ibrahim gave Herzl the Grand Cordon of the Medjidje, in a red case, and as Herzl passed into the antechamber many palms were outstretched for baksheesh, into which he slipped gold coins, an act that he had to repeat when he was faced by more itching palms as he left the Kiosk. He returned to his hotel tired out, and was warmly welcomed by Wolffsohn and Marmorek, but he refused to satisfy their curiosity about what had taken place, so that they would have no difficulty in remaining discreet.

The following morning, Herzl was invited by Ibrahim for a talk and treated to an improvised lunch, during which a blue letter from the Sultan was brought to him, containing a tie pin with a yellow diamond—a token of friendship. They were joined by Izzet Bey, the Second Secretary, who said that he was authorized to explain the plan for unification: it was proposed that a syndicate should provide thirty million pounds, with which the Public Debt should be bought back on the stock exchange. Herzl thought that the plan was preposterous and asked for time to think it over. He wanted to have another talk with the Sultan, but was told that he was too busy. He therefore returned to the hotel, where Nouri and Crespi called for the reward which they had done nothing to deserve. Wolffsohn paid them forty thousand francs in banknotes, for which Nouri reluctantly wrote out a receipt. The latter mentioned that among those “on his list” was Izzet Bey, who was to receive seven to eight thousand francs. Herzl believed that this was untrue and that it was also a lie that Tahsin Bey would be given a similar amount. He therefore sent Wolffsohn with a sealed letter containing ten thousand francs to the First Secretary, to ensure his goodwill. He was revolted by the bribery and

corruption rampant among the whole of the Court clique, extending from the palace gates to the very steps of the throne, and wondered who was the real rogue behind the mask of the wretched Sultan. Was it Tahsin or Izzet? His impression of Abdul Hamid was that he was "a weak, cowardly, but thoroughly good-natured man, neither malicious nor cruel, but a profoundly unhappy prisoner, in whose name a rapacious, base scoundrelly camarilla were committing the most disgraceful infamies."

On May 20, Herzl had another talk with Ibrahim in his study, and told him that he thought Izzet's plan for a further loan was inadvisable and would be harmful, as a usurious rate of interest would be demanded. His own proposal was that the debt should be bought back quietly on various *bourses* by a trustworthy syndicate, over a period of three years, and that a sum of one million five hundred thousand pounds should be found to cover requirements until October, by which time new sources of revenue should be rendered available. Ibrahim wrote this all down as a report, which he sealed in an envelope and sent to the Sultan. Presently Izzet sprang into the room like a "panther cat," with the report in his hand, fuming with anger because Herzl had described his plan as harmful. Herzl defended his view that it was impossible to find thirty million pounds, whereupon Izzet said that they needed four million pounds in the near future; could Herzl find it? He replied that it would depend upon the attitude of the Sultan to the Jews, but that he would consult his friends and give an answer in three or four weeks. Izzet went on to say that Jews who would settle in Turkey would have to become Turkish subjects and do military service, and they would be dispersed in little groups. Herzl was opposed to such dispersion: he suggested the formation of a great land company, to which

uncultivated land could be assigned for settlement. If the company were granted a suitable concession, it could cultivate the land, settle people on it, and pay taxes, and a loan could be obtained in advance on the income from this company. Herzl thus tactfully unfolded the idea of a Charter for the first time, without mentioning the word. Izzet left the room, but soon returned, and conveyed farewell greetings from the Sultan, who would expect positive proposals in four weeks' time.

6

Herzl was back in Vienna on May 23, but did not go to the office of the *Neue Freie Presse*, as he wished to pay a visit to Paris and London to find money for the Charter. He wrote a letter to Benedikt, stating that he found his position on the paper irksome, as he was not allowed complete control over the literary department and there was always a to-do if he wanted to go away for a week or two. Since his principal value to the paper consisted of his feuilletons, he would continue to supply one every week wherever he was, and when he was in Vienna he would call at the office every day; but this arrangement would be acceptable to him only if his salary remained the same. He asked for a reply to be sent to his father, as he would be away for another fortnight, which would complete his holiday. He first went to Franzensfeste, in Tyrol, to see Vambéry, who, after congratulating him on his audience at Yildiz Kiosk, asked him to draw up a Charter, which he would submit to the Sultan in September for his signature. Herzl next went to Karlsruhe, where he asked the Grand Duke of Baden to secure him an audience with the Tsar, as he wished to dissipate the Sultan's fear of Russian hostility to a Jewish settlement in Palestine. The Grand Duke, who complimented him heartily on his audi-

ence with the Sultan, promised that he would write to the Grand Duke Constantine to receive him, and would let him know as soon as possible.

Herzl then went on to Paris and asked Reitlinger if he could obtain a million and a half pounds to secure the Charter, as he was doubtful whether he could get it from the Jewish Colonization Association. Since Reitlinger was unable to procure the amount asked, Herzl went, together with Nordau and Alexander Marmorek, to ask Chief Rabbi Zadok Kahn to try to arrange an interview with Baron Edmond de Rothschild. The result was a rebuff, whereupon Herzl wrote to Sir Francis Montefiore to come over and approach the Pereires. Sir Francis came, but failed to get into touch with this wealthy family. Herzl's disappointment was aggravated by the attitude of Nordau and other leading Zionists to his reception by the Sultan. Nordau disparaged its importance, while Ussishkin, Tschlenow, and Bernstein-Kohan, members of the Actions Committee, who had come to Paris to solicit help from Baron de Rothschild and the I.C.A. for some *Hovevei Zion* settlements in Palestine, without success, told Marmorek that they were not impressed. The dejection that came over Herzl found utterance in his Diary in the following passage (under June 1):

If the Jewish State should one day exist, everything will appear small and a matter of course. Perhaps a just historian will find that it was after all something if a Jewish journalist without means, in the midst of the deepest humiliation, at a time of the most outrageous anti-Semitism, made a flag out of a rag and turned a sunken rabble into a people which rallied round it upright.

But all this and adroitness in negotiations with Powers and princes are nothing. Nobody can appreciate what I have done and suffered who does not know (1) what I had to put up with

these six years on the *Neue Freie Presse*, where I had to tremble for the bread of my children, (2) what anxieties and troubles I had to find the money for propaganda, and (3) who were my fellow workers. The best intentioned were either too poor or prevented or unsuitable.

The effect of the fatiguing labors that he had undergone and of the fruitless efforts he had made showed itself one evening when he was driving through the Bois de Boulogne. He again had an attack of cerebral *anemia* and returned to his hotel in a state of collapse. "Some day," he wrote, "I shall remain in this state." The only thing that cheered him up before he left Paris was an amiable reply from Benedikt, who wrote that he depended upon him for his future collaboration and would like to have a sensible talk with him after his return to Vienna.

7

On June 10, he was again in London, and on the following day he was once more the honored guest of The Maccabaeans, to whom he had first unfolded his scheme five years before. He delivered his speech (which had been translated by Israel Zangwill) in English before a large and distinguished company, which included Vambery. He said that, after his visit to Constantinople, it was natural that people asked him: "What's the news?" To that he would counter with the question: "Are you ready to help him who wishes to help you? How great, how quick is your readiness?" He spoke with a certain reserve, but on one point he was clear and emphatic: he needed one and a half million pounds in addition to the capital already subscribed to the Jewish Colonial Trust. He also appealed for that amount in a manifesto cabled to America by a news agency.

He was lionized a great deal during the fortnight that he spent in England and was invited to many West End homes, but not to any Jewish one except that of Sir Francis Montefiore. There he met Princess Löwenstein, through whom he hoped to obtain an introduction to King Edward VII, and when this hope faded away, he approached Dr. Boyd Carpenter, Bishop of Ripon, for the same purpose. The Bishop was sympathetic and willing, but could not arrange such an interview in twenty-four hours. Another person whom Herzl was anxious to meet, for financial reasons, was the American millionaire, Andrew Carnegie. Bishop Bramley Moore, of the Irvingite "Apostolic Church," who was an ardent Zionist, undertook to reach Carnegie through the Duke of Northumberland, but without success; nor did any better fortune attend the efforts of Zangwill, through the medium of Rudyard Kipling. It was for financial reasons also that Herzl had a talk in the house of Dr. Gaster with Claude Montefiore, the leader of Liberal Judaism, who, although an arch-opponent of Zionism, nevertheless promised to submit Herzl's scheme objectively to the Council of the Jewish Colonization Association, of which he was an influential member. And the banker Isaac Seligman promised that, as soon as the Charter was given, he would tackle Sir Samuel Montagu and other financiers.

But although the prospect of obtaining one and a half million pounds seemed as remote as ever, Herzl, while taking a brief rest at Richmond, wrote a long letter to the Sultan on June 17, in which he said that he and his friends were doing their utmost to procure money for him, on condition that he make a suitable declaration favorable to the Jews. He outlined the formation of an Ottoman Jewish Company, with a capital of five million pounds, for the development of agriculture, industry, and commerce in Asia Minor, Pal-

estine, and Syria. This company, after giving the Turkish Government a loan of one and a half million pounds, would organize Jewish immigration, investigate methods of creating new sources of revenue, and pay an increasing amount in taxes as its activities expanded, and thus, at the same time, "the thorn would be removed from the lion." If his Majesty wanted the money by October, then the concessions (by which Herzl meant the Charter) for the company must be fixed at the beginning of July. He concluded by saying that he was prepared to come to Constantinople as soon as his Majesty wished, when he would submit his plan in detail, and he thought it desirable that Professor Vambery, who had a knowledge of the general situation in the country, should also be invited. He could have written all this while he was still in Constantinople, but he wished to impress the Sultan with what he had done in his interest in Paris and London. There was one other thing that he wrote while at Richmond—an entertaining feuilleton for the *Neue Freie Presse*, entitled "Summer in London," in which he described the scene in Kew Gardens on a fine Sunday afternoon and the various outdoor sports of the English people.

On returning to Vienna, Herzl heard from the Grand Duke of Baden that he had received a reply from the Grand Duke Constantine saying that he was afraid of a refusal from the Tsar. Dr. Katzenelsohn, of Libau, one of the leading Zionists in Russia, informed him at the same time that he had learned that a high Russian officer, General von Hesse, was willing to try to approach the Tsar but would want ten thousand roubles (about five thousand dollars). Herzl had no money for the purpose and thought it better to await a reply from the Sultan before making any further attempt to see the Tsar. His all-absorbing concern was the problem of finding money for the Charter. On reading in the papers that

Cecil Rhodes (1853–1902) was expected in London in the latter part of July, it occurred to him that Rhodes, as an imperialist visionary, would be interested in the idea of a Jewish State and attracted by the prospect of making a big profit on a loan to secure the Charter. He therefore wrote to Joseph Cowen (a director of the Jewish Colonial Trust) to obtain an introduction to Rhodes through the journalist, W. T. Stead, and, if the proposal appealed to Rhodes, Herzl would be prepared to come to London to discuss it with him. After Stead had seen Rhodes, he wrote to Cowen: "Rhodes said: 'If he wants any tip from me, I have only one word to say, and that is: let him put money in his purse'—which was very characteristic of Rhodes." Despite this discouraging opening, Herzl wrote further letters to Cowen, suggesting that he obtain the friendly intervention of a South African mineowner, Max Langermann, who had promised him his help when in Vienna and who was now in London. As Rhodes had gone off to Scotland, Herzl wrote to Cowen, more pressingly, on August 4:

I am constantly thinking about this Cecil matter and look upon it at the moment as the most important thing, more important than Sultan, Tsar, Kaiser, and King. He loves financial profit, he and his friends can make £2,000,000 and more if he helps us. You know, Joe, that I am no illusionist or prattler. When I say it, I know what I am saying.²

But nearly three months had passed without any development when Herzl learned that Dr. Starr Jameson, the intimate friend of Rhodes, was staying at Salso Maggiore, near Parma. He therefore wrote to Cowen again, on October 20, urging him to write immediately to Jameson to arrange a meeting

² *Jewish Chronicle*, September 9, 1949.

with Rhodes at Parma. But the suggestion hung fire: the imperialist visionary was apparently not interested.

8

While dominated by the thought of Rhodes as the most likely financial savior, Herzl did not relax in his efforts to obtain a satisfactory response from Yildiz Kiosk. As nearly two months elapsed without a reply to his letter of June 17, he wrote repeatedly to Vambery that he should advise the Sultan that, through his silence, he was running the risk of losing a valuable friend. There was still no reply, so at the end of August, Herzl sent a letter of birthday felicitations enclosed in a letter to Ibrahim Bey, whom he asked to remind his Majesty of the fable about the lion and the thorn. The Master of Ceremonies acknowledged the congratulations, but made no allusion to the fable. Another month passed, but there was still no reply, so Herzl wrote to the Sultan again and again in vain. His patience becoming exhausted, he went to see Vambery on October 8, and urged him to write a pressing letter to the Sultan and to go to Constantinople himself. He also addressed an appeal to Nouri to influence Izzet Bey. Still no reply. In his despondency he sought solace in the dramatization of a story, *Solon in Lydia*, which he had written in the previous year. On October 23, he again wrote to the Sultan that he was ready to come any day to relieve him of his financial difficulties, but his letter, like all previous ones, remained unanswered. Two months later, he sent still a further letter to inform the Sultan that the Zionist Congress would be meeting again in a few days' time, that he would dispatch a message of homage at the opening of the proceedings, and would be grateful to receive in reply an expression of his

Majesty's goodwill. To make as sure as he could of a favorable response, he informed Ibrahim Bey, in a covering letter, that he had obtained a typewriter with Turkish letters, specially made in America for the Sultan, and that it would be tried out in Europe for the first time at the Turkish Embassy in Vienna.

Such, then, was the situation when Herzl faced the Fifth Zionist Congress, which opened in Basle on December 26, 1901. In his inaugural address, he said that during the past five years the movement had not experienced any opposition from nations or governments; on the contrary, these should be grateful to Zionism for showing how to deal with the Jewish question, not with medieval cruelty but by the most peaceful methods. He referred to the audience that he had had in the previous May with Sultan Abdul Hamid, and said: "From the words and the attitude of his Majesty, I gained the conviction that the Jewish people has a friend and patron in the reigning Caliph. The Sultan has authorized me to say this publicly." He spoke with gratification of the continued progress of the movement in all parts of the world, of the creative impetus it had given to Jewish art, literature, and scholarship, and of the success achieved by the Jewish Colonial Trust, which, although maligned, was now able to begin operations. "How quickly or how slowly," he concluded, "the results at which we are aiming will materialize, we cannot determine. We could only set up the plant, we cannot provide the power. The power must be supplied by the Jewish people—if it wishes."

At the end of the second day of the Congress, there arrived a friendly acknowledgment from the Sultan of the message of homage that had been wired to him on the first day, and Herzl heaved a great sigh of relief. He was able to participate in all the discussions that followed with a lighter heart

and with hope undiminished. "From the evening of my arrival on December 25 until the minute of my departure on New Year's eve," he wrote, "I came out of one discussion into another. Sittings from ten in the morning until four the next morning. In the intervals disputes to settle, insults to smooth out, etc." There were the usual features of previous Congresses—an oratorical address by Nordau (this time on "Questions of the physical, intellectual, and economic amelioration of the Jews"), and reports and discussions on organization, finance, the Jewish Colonial Trust, and Jewish culture. Some changes were made in the constitution in consequence of the numerical growth of the Organization, and it was decided that in future the Congress should be held every two years instead of annually.

There was also an unusual feature, the emergence for the first time of a party. It was a compact group of young Zionists, called "Democratic Zionist Fraction," mainly from Russia, and consisting of disciples of Ahad Ha-am, but differing from him in adhering to the principle of a legally secured home as the basic condition for national cultural development. Among its leading members were Chaim Weizmann, Martin Buber, and Leo Motzkin. They insisted upon greater attention being devoted to Jewish national culture, and Weizmann proposed the founding of a Jewish *Hochschule* (higher grade school). Their zealous devotion to their program made them see a slight in the manner in which the President dealt with the resolutions that they introduced, and it was some time before the clash between them was disposed of and the proceedings could continue along their course. The Democratic Zionist Fraction, which published a detailed program six months later, was the first party to arise in the movement, but it soon dissolved, though its de-

mand for immediate practical work in Palestine was energetically advanced at subsequent Congresses.

A more notable and probably the most important outcome of this Fifth Zionist Congress was the decision to establish the Jewish National Fund for the acquisition of land in Palestine as the inalienable possession of the Jewish people, a fund that was to be built up entirely on voluntary contributions from Jews throughout the world and which was destined to play a vital part in the development of Jewish Palestine. The Congress concluded with the re-election of Herzl as President, and as soon as it was over, he went to Venice for a short rest.

XIII

Yildiz Kiosk and New Court

AFTER HIS RETURN TO VIENNA, EARLY IN JANUARY, 1902, HERZL clung for a time to the hope that his friends in London would help to find the money necessary for the realization of his plan. He received a letter from Joseph Cowen, stating that he was renewing his efforts to arrange an interview with Cecil Rhodes, whereupon he replied that, owing to his journalistic duties, he could not leave for England unless Rhodes were really seriously interested in his proposal. Cowen further informed him that Israel Zangwill was trying, with the help of Lord Suffield, to form a financial group, and wished to have a full explanation of the position. Accordingly, Herzl replied with a very long letter, rather like a memorandum with financial technicalities, in which he explained that the nominal amount of the Ottoman Public Debt was eighty-five million pounds but was quoted at twenty-two million pounds, and that the group proposing to acquire it must be good for the latter sum, though it need not provide the whole amount at the outset. He thought that such an operation could be more easily undertaken by Cecil Rhodes or Lord Rothschild than by the group contemplated by Zangwill. He also pointed out that a former Finance Minister of France, Rouvier, was busily occupied with plans to secure the Debt, and that it would be in British interests to circumvent him. However, neither Cowen nor Zangwill was able to achieve anything. Rhodes soon returned to South

Africa and died a couple of months later, and the Suffield group never materialized.

In this cheerless situation, Herzl indulged in one of his habitual moods of introspection. In his Diary,¹ under January 24, 1902, he wrote:

Zionism was the Sabbath of my life.

I believe that my influence as leader is to be attributed to the fact that I, who, as man and writer, have and had so many faults and committed so many mistakes and stupidities, was of a pure heart in the Zionist cause and quite selfless.

A brighter prospect now seemed to present itself to him personally, at least momentarily. It was announced that the Vienna weekly, *Die Zeit*, was going to be converted into a daily, which would mean serious competition for the *Neue Freie Presse*. Benedikt became very apprehensive, and Herzl discussed the matter with him for two hours while pacing up and down in the courtyard of the Schwarzenberg Palace, but without screwing up courage to offer to buy his interest, which he eagerly desired. On returning home, however, he wrote a letter to Benedikt, to the effect that, if he wished to sell out, he had friends who could find money for the purchase. After showing his parents the letter and receiving their approval, he sent it to Benedikt's private residence. The next day, he saw Benedikt in Bacher's room, but made no allusion to the matter. When he returned to his own room, he had another attack of cerebral *anemia*, about which he told nobody, as his parents would hear of it and be upset. "But this will carry me off one day," he wrote in his Diary: ²

I can imagine what death is: a growing insufficiency of consciousness, in which the sensation of this wasting away is the

¹ *Tagebücher*, vol. III, p. 115.

² *Tagebücher*, vol. III, p. 120.

pain. . . . If I were soon to die my parents would mourn for me most, then, to a less extent, consoled by their youth, my children—and the entire Jewish people.

The omission of any mention of his wife was pathetically significant. Before many days rolled by, he realized that the hope of becoming part proprietor of the *Neue Freie Presse* was a mere chimera.

Suddenly, on February 4, he received a telegram from Ibrahim Bey, asking him to come to Constantinople immediately "to furnish certain explanations." He was perturbed and puzzled by this phrase and found the invitation at that moment inconvenient. There might be trouble if he again absented himself from the *Neue Freie Presse*, he felt uneasy in his mind because of his public references to the Charter, he still had no money for it, he would not know what to do with it, and it was a bad time for a journey. But after wiring to Dr. Wellisch and learning that Ibrahim had acted on instructions from the Sultan, and after receiving a second telegram from the Master of Ceremonies, he had no alternative but to go. As his wife was unwell at the time, he had to put off his departure for a few days, during which he telegraphed to Cowen to join him. He had also, in a state of mental worry, to write a feuilleton on Japanese actors and was quite satisfied with the result.

He made a brief halt in Budapest on February 12, to call on Vambery, who told him that the Sultan obviously needed him, and from there traveled to Constantinople with Cowen. Owing to the railway line from Philippopolis being flooded, they had to go through Rumania and sail from Constanza to Constantinople, where they arrived two days later. They were met by Wellisch, who accompanied them to the palace and conducted them to Ibrahim's study. The Master of Cere-

monies told Herzl that the Sultan was too tired to see him until the next day, and wished him to regard himself as his guest.

Without further ado, Ibrahim began by asking what was the object of the Zionist Congress. Herzl explained that it was to promote the Jewish national movement, which was opposed to the absorption of the Jews among other nations. Ibrahim then said that a misleading report had been published, that Herzl had announced that the Sultan had agreed to the immigration of Jews into Palestine to establish a Jewish kingdom, and the report had been denied by a Turkish Embassy. Herzl declared that he had stated only what the Sultan had authorized him in the previous May to say, and that he had informed his Majesty of it beforehand. Thereupon Ibrahim replied with a smile that they knew that Dr. Herzl could not have said anything incorrect. "If it had been otherwise, the Sultan would not have invited you to be his guest." They then sat down to have lunch, during which Tahsin Bey, the Sultan's First Secretary, looked in and whispered to Ibrahim, and withdrew again without greeting Herzl.

2

After lunch, they were joined by Izzet Bey, the Second Secretary, who asked Herzl brusquely: "What was the purpose of your visit last May?" Herzl replied that he had already explained it then: it was to come to the help of Turkey if she were also willing to help the Jews. Izzet then said it was understood that Herzl would render them moral and material support, as Jews were influential in the press and in finance, but that nothing of the sort had occurred: only declarations had been made in London and Basle. Thereupon Herzl replied that those declarations were necessary to

create a feeling of sympathy in favor of his Majesty among the Jews of the whole world, and in that respect he believed he had succeeded.

Izzet proceeded to expound the Sultan's views. His Majesty was willing to open his Empire to Jewish refugees from all lands, on condition that they accepted Ottoman citizenship, with all its duties, including military service, after giving up their original nationality, and they could settle in all provinces of his dominions except—for the beginning—in Palestine. In return, the Sultan requested Herzl to form a syndicate for the unification of the Ottoman Debt and also to undertake a concession for the exploitation of all the mines in his Empire—gold, silver, coal, and petroleum—to be operated by an Ottoman company with a board consisting only of Jews and Moslems. Herzl said that he must have time for reflection, and it was agreed that he would give a written reply the next day. He then presented Izzet with a precious snuffbox, which was accepted with pleasure.

In his written reply, Herzl accepted in principle the Sultan's offer that he should form an Ottoman company for the exploitation of mines. But as for the proposal to welcome oppressed Jews, who should not settle in a mass in any particular region, in return for which a Jewish syndicate should be created for the unification of the Ottoman Debt, Herzl could not agree to any restrictions applying to their settlement. He submitted that there must be a direct connection between the Jewish colonization and the unification operation, and this could be effected only by means of a general concession for the formation of a great Ottoman-Jewish Colonization Society. Herzl handed his letter, which was in French, to Ibrahim; who had it translated into Turkish for the benefit of the Sultan.

They then sat down to lunch and were joined by Izzet,

who, after reading the letter, wanted to know whether the company would have the right to choose and buy land wherever they wanted and to settle Jews there. "Yes," replied Herzl. "That is essential. We are not concerned about individual protection, which we already have in all civilized countries, but about national protection." Their Excellencies asked him what this meant, to which he replied: "An invitation to immigrate without any restriction." Izzet thereupon took the letter to the Sultan, and Ibrahim and the Deputy Master of Ceremonies, Ghalib Bey, grew enthusiastic at the prospect of the prosperity in the country that would result from the influx of Jews. But Izzet soon returned from the Sultan with an unfavorable reply: the districts to be settled must be determined in each case by the government. "The Ottoman-Jewish Company shall have the right to colonize in Mesopotamia, Syria, Anatolia, anywhere, only not in Palestine!"

"A Charter without Palestine! I refused straightway," wrote Herzl in his Diary.³

He then composed a second letter to the Sultan, in which he proposed that if colonization without restrictions were granted, he and his friends would establish a big Ottoman bank with headquarters in Constantinople and branches in all important cities, which would be of benefit to the whole country. If his Majesty could not agree, Herzl asked for permission to depart, but wished for another audience to thank him for his gracious welcome. If his Majesty had no time for him, he would like to offer him two presents—his *Philosophical Tales* and a Turkish-Arabic typewriter. Ibrahim translated the letter into Turkish and sent it to the Sultan, after which Herzl presented the Master of Ceremonies and his Deputy with gold pencils studded with gems.

³ *Tagebücher*, vol. III, p. 138.

The second letter was also fruitless. Izzet told Herzl that the Sultan could not agree to unrestricted immigration, and that it was a mistake to believe that "an absolute ruler could do what he wished." He then proffered Herzl the friendly advice that he should first establish himself as a financier in the country and he would then be "the master." After further discussion, they came to an understanding that the Sultan should grant Herzl three *firman*s for the exploitation of mines, for the establishment of a bank, and for the formation of a Colonization Company, for each of which he should deposit in a bank the sum of one million francs, to be paid when the *firman* was promulgated.

Early in the morning of his fourth and last day in Constantinople, February 18, Herzl went to the palace in the expectation that he would be permitted to see the Sultan and take formal leave. Instead, he was confronted with a protocol setting forth the terms to which Abdul Hamid was prepared to agree. These were that Jews should immigrate into Asia Minor and Mesopotamia and settle, "not in masses," in districts to be indicated by the Government, in return for which a Jewish financial syndicate should be formed (a) to exploit the mines of the Empire, (b) to implement the unification of the Ottoman Public Debt under advantageous conditions, and (c) to lend the Ottoman Government sums necessary to carry out its projects of public works. When Herzl was asked to sign this protocol, he added a paragraph to the effect that, having taken note of its contents, he was regretfully obliged to declare that the aforementioned conditions seemed unacceptable to him, but that he remained at the disposal of his Imperial Majesty for other negotiations.

While he was writing, somebody from the Sultan came and brought him two hundred pounds in a bag for his

traveling expenses. Herzl shrugged his shoulders in surprise and asked if he could offer the money back for some charitable purpose. Izzet replied that he should first accept and sign a receipt, after which he could do with the money as he pleased. Herzl thought that if he returned it to "their Excellencies," they would have no compunction in keeping it, and there would be no proof that he had given it back. He therefore decided to retain it for the benefit of the poor Zionist treasury. As he prepared to leave, Izzet asked him, in the name of the Sultan, to inquire of the directors of the *Neue Freie Presse* how much they wanted for their friendly support. He parted from Izzet and Ibrahim with the remark that he was "laden with gold" and hoped to meet them again; and as he passed through vestibules and corridors and beyond, as far as the gates of Yildiz Kiosk, he was greeted by a gauntlet of outstretched hands with palms uppermost, into which he dropped gold coins. He felt like an Oriental prince in "Wonderland," from whom a rain of gold was expected, and he had little doubt that the eyes of many who saw the spectacle were those of spies. He believed that they would be thinking—if the lackeys and janitors received so much, how much more bountiful was the largesse bestowed upon the Excellencies in the long and secret conferences! He looked upon the distribution of these gold coins as a most fruitful investment.

Meanwhile, Cowen had settled the bill at the hotel and brought the luggage to the pier, and Herzl, when he handed him the tied-up bag of gold, asked him to leave it like that until they would put it on the table at the meeting of the Executive. They had a very rough passage in the wretched Rumanian steamer, which was tossed to and fro on the tempestuous waters of the Black Sea, and as there was a dense mist, there was the added risk of colliding with an-

other vessel and sinking. After they had landed safely at Constanza and were smoothly traveling westward, they exchanged the thoughts that had flitted through their minds as they had lain sick in their musty cabins. Herzl had imagined that if they had been drowned, and if Constantinople were conquered some day by the Russians or the Bulgarians, the receipt with his signature would be found and he would be pilloried as "a hireling of the Red Sultan." Cowen said that he found the bag of gold in his pocket so heavy that he was determined, at the first sign of danger, to throw it overboard, as he feared that its weight would pull him down.

3

When Herzl, back in Vienna, had his first meeting with the Executive on February 20, they decided to devote the two hundred pounds to some Turkish cause. He therefore called on the Turkish Ambassador and offered him the money for the Hedjaz Railway or for an asylum for the poor. The disappointment that he felt over his visit to Yildiz Kiosk, which was aggravated by the refusal of the Sultan and his First Secretary to receive him, was followed by annoyance when a telegram came from Leopold J. Greenberg, stating that some London papers reported that he had already obtained the Charter. He therefore telephoned to the correspondents of the *Daily News* and the *Daily Mail* to contradict the report, and he wired to Wellisch that he should inform Ibrahim that he had published a denial. Despite the failure of his efforts, however, he wrote to Izzet that he would let him know by March 15 in what bank he would deposit the three sums of a million francs each for the three concessions, and that they would remain there until May 15. He suggested to Benno Reitlinger that he

should take over the concession for the mines, but that cautious financier considered that the proposition was too risky and costly, although he thought that the Jewish Colonial Trust could undertake it with advantage. On March 13, however, he was surprised to receive a letter from Wellisch, saying that Ibrahim had instructed him to request Herzl to do nothing until further advice, and his consternation was increased by two items of news in that day's *Neue Freie Presse*. One was that the Sultan had given a dinner in honor of the French Ambassador, Constans, and received him in special audience; the other was that the Sultan had approved of Rouvier's scheme for the unification of the Ottoman Debt. Herzl thus felt driven to the conclusion that Abdul Hamid had sent for him only to exact better terms from Rouvier.

Despite the unpromising situation, Herzl convened a meeting of the Board and the Council of the Jewish Colonial Trust on March 17, and secured their authority to obtain three letters of credit for a million francs each, to be deposited in three separate banks in London, Paris, and Berlin. He wrote to Izzet later that he had shown the letters to the Turkish Ambassador, and also wrote to Ibrahim that he was at last forwarding the Turkish typewriter and his *Philosophical Tales* for the Sultan. But there was obviously no coordination between Abdul Hamid's secretaries, for the Ambassador told Herzl that he had received an inquiry from Tahsin about the letters of credit and also about Herzl himself. The latter query was obviously a pretence and intended to obtain a report on the personality of the Zionist leader. Herzl explained that he had been invited to Constantinople by the Sultan and pledged to secrecy concerning his negotiations, whereupon the Ambassador assured him that he would send Tahsin a favorable report. But it soon

became clear that Herzl was indulging in false hopes, as he received a letter from Wellisch to the effect that Izzet wished him to withdraw the letters of credit, and the Ambassador received one from Tahsin, who wrote that the deposit of those documents was based on a misunderstanding. Herzl, however, understood the situation perfectly well. His comment in his Diary was: "I only wanted to show them money—so that they should not forget me."

Herzl suffered a further rebuff when the Turkish Ambassador informed him, on April 12, that he had received a letter from Tahsin, stating that the gift of two hundred pounds for the Hedjaz Railway must be returned. He thereupon explained the origin of this money, and decided to devote it to Zionist purposes. The only satisfaction that he had during this period of successive disappointments was that he was reaching the conclusion of his romance of Palestine, *Altneuland*, to which he had devoted all the precious leisure of the past three years, and which he at last completed on April 30. But he was not going to be deterred from his efforts to achieve his aim at Yildiz Kiosk. If he could not do so by his offer of financial help, he would try another and, as he hoped, more acceptable method. He therefore wrote a letter to the Sultan, on May 3, proposing the establishment in Jerusalem of a Jewish university, comprehensive in scope and advanced in character, which would be open to Ottoman students, so that they need not go to foreign lands where they were exposed to revolutionary influences. In a covering letter to Ibrahim, he stated that this project would not entail any expense on the part of the Ottoman Government and that he was prepared to come to Constantinople to explain the details. The reply that he received from Izzet was that the Government thanked him for his offer, but as they were now occupied with plans for

bettering the state of their treasury and obtaining new sources of income, they would welcome the collaboration of Jewish financiers and would like to consider definite proposals. Herzl responded by saying that he could submit his proposals only verbally and was prepared to come in a few days, while, in a covering letter, he added that he was annoyed that his gift of a Turkish typewriter had not been accepted. Izzet's request was amplified by Wellisch, who wrote that what was wanted was a more advantageous scheme than Rouvier's for the consolidation of the Ottoman Debt, a syndicate for the exploitation of the mines, and another syndicate for the founding of a bank. In short, Herzl was back again at the stage that he had left several weeks before, and Izzet was apparently pursuing a course of which Tahsin was kept in ignorance.

Meanwhile, the Zionist leader had been informed by Greenberg that he would be invited to give evidence in London before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration, which had been set up by the British Government largely in consequence of the persistent press agitation against the influx of Jews from Eastern Europe. He therefore wrote to Izzet that he was prepared to undertake the three tasks required of him, but he was first going to London to discuss them with his friends. He broke his journey at Paris, where he wrote in his Diary,⁴ under June 4, 1902, in a further spell of introspection:

Now I am an aging and famous man. I preferred the time of my youth despite its attacks of melancholy.

. . . In the Jewish question I have become world-famous as an agitator. As a writer, particularly as a dramatist, I count for nothing, for less than nothing. They call me only a good journalist—although I feel and know that I am or was a writer of

⁴ *Tagebücher*, vol. III, p. 207.

great caliber, who did not give his full measure only because he felt disgusted and discouraged.

4

There was another important reason why he went to London, where he arrived a few days later: it was to have his first interview with Lord Rothschild. He had written to the leader of Anglo-Jewry for this purpose two months previously, after having at length overcome his repugnance to do so. Since the efforts of all his friends in London to arrange such a meeting had failed, he thought that the importance of a talk with the most influential Jew in England was so vital a factor in his plans that he must pocket his pride, even at the risk of a rebuff. Rothschild was the only Jewish member of the Commission on Alien Immigration, of which Lord James of Hereford (a member of the Balfour Cabinet) was the Chairman, and after Greenberg had secured the latter's consent to Herzl being invited as a witness, he had no difficulty in inducing Rothschild to agree to receive him, as the financial magnate wanted to know what sort of statements the Zionist leader would make. But both the interview and the evidence before the Commission had suddenly to be postponed, for on the night of the day of Herzl's arrival, June 9, on returning to the hotel from the theatre, he found a telegram from his wife with the message: "Papa very ill. Return Vienna immediately." He felt sure that it meant his father had died. He at once began preparations to leave by the next train for the Continent, and in the small hours of the morning he wrote in his Diary: ⁵

I believe that I was always a loyal, grateful, respectful son to my good father, who did a tremendous deal for me. How

⁵ *Tagebücher*, vol. III, p. 210.

much he went through with me, supported me, comforted me, after he had educated and kept me so long. The journeys on which I learned so much, I owe to him. And now I am not at home when he closes his eyes. . . . What a support he was to me continually, what a counsellor! Like a tree he stood beside me. Now the tree is gone.

Just before leaving London, he received a telegram from the doctor: "Father died painlessly in sudden attack." He took the boat to Ostend, and when his train reached Cologne his friend Wolffsohn offered to accompany him, but he wished to complete the sorrowful journey alone.

He was very deeply affected by the death of his father. Ten days later, when he was with his family at Alt Aussee, he wrote:

Everything passes. Now I sit again at my writing-desk of last summer, and of my father I have nothing more than his picture, which stands before me. He has quite gone out of my life. Only this picture tells me how he looked whom I shall never see again.

But his sorrow in no way lessened the vigilance with which he pursued his political aim. He wrote to the Sultan that he had learned from the papers that the Rouvier scheme had been approved, that what now remained to be undertaken was the exploitation of the mines and the founding of a new bank, and that he awaited definite instructions as to how to proceed.

He was back again in London on July 3, and on the following day had his long-coveted interview with Lord Rothschild. As he made his way to the famous bank at New Court, he reflected that it had taken seven years to obtain the opportunity to explain his scheme to the unchallenged head of the Anglo-Jewish community. He was aware that Rothschild, then a man of sixty-two, owed his influential position

to the fact that he combined the prestige of the first Jew to be elevated to the House of Lords with that of a leading financier in the City of London and a director of the Bank of England, while he was also President of the United Synagogue and a generous philanthropist. They were soon seated comfortably facing each other, beginning in English and continuing in German.

Rothschild said that he did not believe in Zionism or that the Jews would ever get Palestine. He was an Englishman and wished to remain one. He wished Herzl to say "this and that" to the Commission, and not to say "this and that." As Rothschild was somewhat hard of hearing, Herzl began to shout him. He said that he would tell the Commission what he considered right: that had always been his practice and he would keep to it. He declared that it was untrue that the Powers were against the Jews going to Palestine, and asserted that he was *persona grata* with the Sultan.

"Yes," interjected Rothschild, "the Sultan is naturally friendly with you, because you are Dr. Herzl of the *Neue Freie Presse*."

"That's false!" exclaimed Herzl. "The *Neue Freie Presse* has nothing to do with it. The proprietors are deadly enemies of my Jewish plan. The word Zionism has never been mentioned in the paper, and I have never discussed the *Neue Freie Presse* with the Sultan."

Rothschild then said that Arnold White (the publicist, who had aroused a great deal of agitation about the Jewish question) and Major Evans-Gordon, M.P. (a member of the Commission) had called Herzl as a "Crown witness," so that they could say: "Dr. Herzl is surely the best Jew, and he declares that a Jew can never become an Englishman."

"It would be stupid arrogance on my part," replied Herzl, "if I gave this Commission a lecture on the qualities of a

real Englishman. I shall simply say what terrible misery there is in the East, and that the people must either perish or get away. The distress in Rumania is known to us since 1897; the petitions to the Zionist Congress were everywhere ignored. In Galicia it is perhaps even worse. There are over seven hundred thousand poverty-stricken there. They will also begin to move."

"I wish you would not say that to the Commission," returned Rothschild, "otherwise there will come a law for restriction."

"I shall certainly say that, quite certainly," exclaimed Herzl. "You can rely upon that. I should be a bad fellow if I only said what could lead to the restriction of immigration. But I should be one of those bad fellows to whom the English Jews should erect a statue out of gratitude, because I preserve them from the influx of Eastern Jews and thereby perhaps from anti-Semitism. I have a plan for a remedy and shall tell the Commission what it is."

They broke off for lunch, at which they were joined by Lord Rothschild's two brothers, Leopold and Alfred, and Lord Rosebery's son.⁶ After coffee, Herzl sat down with Rothschild at his desk and explained his scheme. He said: "I want to get from the British Government a Charter for colonization."

Rothschild: "Don't say Charter. The word sounds bad now."

Herzl: "Let us call it what you like. I want to found a Jewish colony in British territory."

Rothschild: "Take Uganda."

Herzl: "No. I can only use this." As there were others still in the room he wrote on a piece of paper: "Sinai Penin-

⁶ The present Lord Rosebery, then Lord Dalmeny, whose mother, born Hannah Rothschild, was a cousin of the first Lord Rothschild.

sula, Egyptian Palestine, Cyprus." And he asked: "Are you in favor?"

Rothschild, smiling, replied: "Very much."

Herzl considered this a victory and added on the piece of paper: "Prevent the Sultan from getting money," by which he alluded to the Rouvier scheme.

Rothschild: "I prevented Rumania from getting money. But I cannot do this, as the Powers want it. They want to have the railways built."

Herzl: "The Sultan offered me Mesopotamia."

Rothschild (in astonishment): "And you refused?"

Herzl: "Yes."

This concluded the first conversation with Lord Rothschild, during which Herzl was given an invitation by his brother Leopold to a garden party, which was to take place at Gunnersbury a few days later. From New Court he went to the Turkish Ambassador, who informed him that he had received a telegram from the Sultan, requesting that Herzl should come to Constantinople at once. He replied that, owing to the Commission, he could not leave for a few days, and he preferred to have specific instructions by wire as to what was expected from him.

5

Herzl's appearance, on July 7, before the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration,⁷ which met at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, attracted an unusually large public, including many Zionists, who followed his statements with the

⁷ The other members of the Commission were the Hon. Alfred Lyttelton, M.P., Major W. Evans-Gordon, M.P., Henry Norman, M.P., Sir Kenelm Digby of the Home Office, and Mr. Vallance, for many years Clerk to the Whitechapel Board of Guardians. The first session took place on April 24, 1902.

closest interest. He fully realized that what was at stake was the freedom of asylum for refugees, for which England had been famous for centuries, and although he did not in the least wish to provide any argument for restricting that freedom, he felt bound to give a true diagnosis of the causes of Jewish migration, but, at the same time, showed how he proposed to divert it. In his prepared statement, he attributed the immigration of Jews into England to the persecution to which they were subjected in Eastern Europe, and he anticipated that the influx would increase as the result of growing pressure. He did not regard the dispersion of immigrants in England as a remedy, nor did he consider intermarriage as a feasible or desirable solution. Those who learned to appreciate the Jews at their true worth to a sufficient extent to desire intermarriage would recognize their value as a separate entity and accord them the right to exist as a separate people, with their rightful place among the nations of the world. In concluding he said:

The solution of the Jewish question lies in recognizing the Jews as a people and in their finding a legally recognized home, to which Jews can naturally migrate from those parts of the world in which they are oppressed, for they would come there as citizens, just because they are Jews, and not as aliens. . . . I am firmly convinced that the problem that the Commission is called upon to investigate and to advise upon cannot be solved in any other way except by adopting the principle, that the stream of migration, which must continue from Eastern Europe in increasing volume, must be diverted.

The Jews of Eastern Europe cannot remain where they are now. Where are they to go? If they are not wanted here, then a place must be found to which they can migrate without creating the problem with which you are occupied here. Such a problem does not arise if a home is found that is legally recognized as

Jewish. And I submit that the Commission should not fail to take this solution into account and to favor it with its valuable judgment. So far as the Jews are concerned, I have no hesitation in maintaining that the solution is practical and feasible. Above all it is welcome to the unfortunate Jews themselves and would receive their most serious cooperation, because their hopeless misery is the cause of troubles with which both they and this Commission are at present confronted.

After his statement had been read out, Herzl was subjected to a great deal of questioning by the members of the Commission, particularly with reference to the intolerable conditions in Eastern Europe and the right of England to protect herself against unrestricted immigration. When he was asked by Evans-Gordon whether what was considered necessary to prevent "an unlimited aggregation of the poorest section of your people" was not fully compatible with the greatest liberty of the Jews, he replied that he would not like to be a "Crown witness" in any matter against the Jews. Lord Rothschild's questions related principally to the compatibility of Zionism with political loyalty and the extent of anti-Jewish discrimination in Rumania. In response to the Chairman's request for the definition of a Zionist, Herzl quoted the terms of the Basle Program, but added that, while that was their fixed aim, there could be "moments when immediate help or a step forward was indispensable." Lord James, in summing up Herzl's evidence, said that he had been animated by the wish to do everything that could be of service to his people. "As advocate of his race," without regard to England itself, Dr. Herzl did not wish any change in the existing laws or any restriction, but the maintenance of perfect liberty. The Zionist leader then shook hands with all the members of the Commission and withdrew.

In the afternoon, he went to the Rothschild garden party at Gunnersbury and was introduced by Lady Battersea to Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll, with whom he conversed for some time. He believed that by being seen in that fashionable throng he did more for Zionism, perhaps among the "upper Jews," than by all his speeches and action until then.

Upon reflection, Herzl felt that he had made an unsatisfactory impression upon the Chairman of the Commission (although he gave no reason for this in his Diary), and went to him the next day to remedy it by speaking of his plans quite frankly. Lord James said that the Sinai-El-Arish-Cyprus scheme could be carried out only with the help of Lord Rothschild and that no money for the purpose could be expected from the British Government. Herzl therefore went to New Court again to discuss the matter with Rothschild, who said that he would speak to the Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, about it. In response to Rothschild's request for something in writing, Herzl adumbrated a plan, which should be initiated by Rothschild forming a board of five or six financiers, to float a company with a capital of ten million pounds for the exploitation of land concessions to be granted by the British Government. The emigration of the Jewish settlers would be organized in the localities where they lived and would be regulated from time to time according to circumstances.

Herzl wrote that he submitted this plan to Rothschild expressly because the latter was against Palestine and he regarded him as "the greatest effective force since the Dispersion," and also because a large Jewish settlement in the Eastern Mediterranean would strengthen the Jewish position in Palestine; but he could not say whether it would have the support of the Zionist Organization until he consulted his

committee at a special conference. He also submitted an alternative plan—a settlement in Mesopotamia; but for this financial help would have to be given to the Sultan. Within a few days, he had a reply from Rothschild saying that there was no money for a project on a large scale, but that he would study the matter carefully. Herzl did not feel encouraged. The idea occurred to him to get into touch with Lord Rosebery, but Lady Battersea's prompt attempt to arrange a meeting was unsuccessful. Meanwhile, he was pressed by the Turkish Ambassador to go to Constantinople again without delay, in response to the Sultan's urgent telegraphic request for his help to extricate the Ottoman treasury from its sorry plight. He therefore left London on July 17 for Austria, for a brief reunion with his family at Alt Aussee, where he was bombarded by further telegrams from Abdul Hamid, demanding his immediate presence. He wrote another long letter to Rothschild, urging him to form a company, and then set out on his travels once more.

6

Herzl reached Constantinople on July 25, accompanied this time by David Wolffsohn. He was given a very cordial welcome by Tahsin and Ibrahim, who told him that he should consider himself his Majesty's guest and that a Court carriage was at his disposal. So impatient were these officials to submit Herzl's proposals to their master that they expected him to sit down and write them out at once; but he pleaded to be allowed to recover from the fatigue of the journey and to present his memorandum the next day. The plan for the unification of the Ottoman Public Debt that he submitted would have cost the Turkish Government one million six hundred thousand pounds less than the Rouvier

scheme, and, in return, he asked for a concession for a Jewish colony in Mesopotamia (as offered to him the previous February) together with Haifa and its environs. He was introduced to the aged statesman, Karatheodory Pasha, who had been at the Berlin Conference of 1878, and whose services were now invoked to translate Herzl's confidential French exposition into Turkish. He was also conducted by Ibrahim and the Sultan's Chamberlain, Arif, to the Grand Vizier, Said Pasha, a little pudgy, withered old man in a dressing-gown, in whose presence he nevertheless felt as uneasy as he had done in that of the German Chancellor Hohenlohe, at Potsdam in 1898. The Grand Vizier wanted to know the names of the persons who formed "the Jewish Syndicate," but Herzl replied that it would be indiscreet to divulge them, as the deal with the Rouvier group was almost concluded. He assured Said Pasha that the proposed Jewish colonization would be carried out methodically, in accordance with an agreed plan, and he asked that no definite arrangement should be made until he had a private audience with the Sultan, especially as he had not been granted one in February.

After this interview was over, Herzl was required not only to write out a report of it for the Sultan, but also to get it translated into Turkish by a confidant of his own, as Abdul Hamid apparently did not trust his officials. Wellisch confessed himself unequal to the task and took Herzl in search of a young Sephardi Jew, who was brought back to the hotel where he wrote out the translation conscientiously under the watchful eye of Wolffsohn. Herzl was summoned a second time to the Grand Vizier, who pointed out that his offer was only one million six hundred thousand pounds less than that of the Rouvier group and that the Powers might object to the Jews obtaining Haifa. He had a feeling that he had

been called to Yildiz Kiosk only in order that better terms might be squeezed out of the French group.

He wrote yet a third letter to the Sultan, in which he proposed that, if his plan for the unification of the Debt was not accepted, he would place the sum of one million six hundred thousand pounds (which he had not yet secured) at the disposal of the Imperial treasury for the colonization project. It was not long before the Sultan's Chamberlain brought the letter back, torn open, with a message from his Majesty that he had received a report from the Grand Vizier and that Herzl should come on the following day to take leave. Herzl had no alternative but to conclude, from the Chamberlain's angry expression and the return of his letter, that his efforts had been in vain, and yet he thought that, after the Turkish Government had completed an arrangement with the Rouvier group, they would come back to him for the sum that he had offered.

Throughout his stay in Constantinople, he had the uncomfortable feeling that he was the object of suspicion and intrigue, especially on the part of foreign diplomats, who gave him unfriendly looks. He was unutterably bored by the long intervals between interviews and writing letters and awaiting replies, while his stomach revolted at the numberless "barbarous dishes" that he had to swallow, in Oriental fashion, with exclamations of delight. And all the time, he had to put his hand into his pocket repeatedly and slip gold coins into the palms of the horde of lackeys and door-keepers lounging about at Yildiz Kiosk. The higher officials, Ibrahim, and Arif, had, of course, also to be given presents—the first a pearl tie pin, and the other beautiful shirt-studs.

When the time for departure was approaching, without Herzl being allowed to see the Sultan, Ibrahim said to him: "The Sultan has much esteem and sympathy for you per-

sonally. He is an absolute ruler but cannot by any means do what he wishes. What you want to do for your people is very noble. Zionism is very noble." He asked Herzl what his traveling expenses came to, but Herzl declined to accept anything beyond the amount of his hotel bill, as he considered it an honor to be his Majesty's guest. Tahsin later repeated the same question and received the same reply. He then said that the Sultan wanted Herzl to accept a subvention for the *Neue Freie Presse*, and was told that this was quite out of the question. On the last day, August 3, Ibrahim gave Herzl a little red silk bag of gold for his "bare expenses." Herzl accepted it "*pour mes pauvres*" and decided not to open it until he reached Vienna, where he would hand it over to the Zionist treasury. They exchanged the last *Selamaleks*,⁸ and Herzl left what he called "the den of Ali Baba and the forty thieves."

On rejoining his family at Alt Aussee, Herzl found awaiting him an unfavorable reply to the last letter he had sent to Lord Rothschild. He therefore wrote to him again (on August 2), pleading for his cooperation:

Ah, if you only had an idea of the immeasurable distress of our good but poor people, you would give me a better hearing. . . . The heartrending letters from workmen's groups, business people, educated men, that I receive, are not to be counted. With a sigh I must answer: I cannot help you. This sort of people does not want gifts of money—otherwise they would not turn to me—but opportunity for work and an existence secure from persecution. This is what the philanthropic organizations cannot offer them anywhere.⁹

Rothschild's reply, although in friendly terms, was again disappointing, so Herzl sent a rejoinder to rebut his objec-

⁸ "Peace unto you!"

⁹ *Tagebücher*, vol. III, p. 280.

tion. The Jewish community or colony that he intended establishing, he wrote, would not be "small, orthodox, and illiberal," nor would the Powers regard it with ill will or distrust. He had worked for three years on a comprehensive reply to all these and other objections in a book entitled *Altneuland*, which would appear in a few weeks, and his Lordship would be among the first to receive a copy.

7

The book, which was published at the beginning of October, 1902, was an attempt, in the form of a novel, to depict the life and conditions of the Jewish community in Palestine in the year 1923. Herzl was inspired to write it by the profound impression made upon him by his visit to the country in 1898, by his conviction that the revival of the Jews as a nation in their ancestral land was a practical possibility, and by his desire to portray this revival in graphic detail. Although in structure presenting the features of a Utopia, it differed from all previous Utopias in being the literary fantasy of a man who was himself actively engaged, as the leader of a worldwide movement, in trying to convert it into a reality; and although a romance in conception, it possessed many elements of actuality in dealing with places that were universally known and in including several characters plainly modeled upon friends and fellow workers of the author.

The story opens in Vienna, where "an educated and despairing young man," Friedrich Loewenberg, a lawyer, accepts the offer of an American millionaire, Mr. Kingscourt (formerly a German military officer, *Königshof*), to leave Western civilization and accompany him on his yacht to one of the South Sea islands in Cook's Archipelago. Loewenberg takes this step after having lost two intimate friends, Hein-

rich and Oswald (the names of Herzl's own two friends, of whom the first had committed suicide and the other had died of fever in Brazil); but before quitting Vienna, he gives five thousand gulden, received from the millionaire, to a desperately poor Jewish family named Litvak, who dream of settling in the Holy Land. On their outward voyage, Kingscourt and Loewenberg make a brief stay in Palestine, where they are struck by the general decay and decline: the country is in sore need of irrigation and forestation, but there are pleasant oases, like Rishon le-Zion and Rehoboth, while the sight of the Holy City, majestic in the moonlight, arouses in Loewenberg memories of his childhood, when, at the Passover evening service, he joined in the traditional aspiration: "Next year in Jerusalem!"

After the lapse of twenty years, the travelers return to civilization and decide to revisit Palestine. They find a complete transformation. On reaching Haifa, they see many large ships in the harbor at the foot of Mount Carmel, whose slopes are covered with gleaming white villas. Presently, they meet David Litvak (modeled on David Wolffsohn, a native of Lithuania), whose family Loewenberg had befriended in the past and who now, having become a wealthy shipowner, is happy to act as their host and guide. They are impressed by the numerous signs of progress they see on every side, the products of up-to-date technology: well-constructed roads and railways, motorcars and omnibuses, and the extensive use of electric power, obtained by harnessing the waters of the Jordan for lighting, transport, and machinery. There is a canal from the Mediterranean to the Dead Sea, whose vast mineral deposits are usefully exploited. Jericho, with fine hotels in tropical palm avenues, is a popular holiday resort, and Tiberias, because of its warm springs and delightful situation, is an attractive spa. All sorts of

industries flourish in the towns, as does agriculture in the country, with a variety of vines and vegetation, tobacco plants, and eucalyptus trees. The Vale of Jezreel, in particular, presents a delightful picture. The cooperative system and the principle of "mutualism" are the basis of all economic activities, urban and rural, and there is employment for all, with a seven-hour day. Buildings in various styles have been erected under the expert advice of Steinek (Marmorek). Education is free for all grades, from kindergarten to the University of Zion; health is promoted by the encouragement of sport; the sick are cared for in efficient hospitals; and convalescents are sent to holiday colonies. Scientists are at work at a chemical research station and a bacteriological institute.

The Jewish community, which is called "The New Society" ("The Jewish Society" of *The Jewish State*), was founded on the basis of a Charter granted by the Turkish Government in return for the sum of two million pounds, plus an annual payment of fifty thousand pounds for thirty years and a quarter of the revenue of the Society. The economic development was organized under the energetic direction of an English Jew, Joe Levy (Joseph Cowen), who was given a credit of one million pounds for initial expenditure and who had a central office in London, with heads of departments for transport, building, the purchase of machinery, land development, provisioning, and other matters. The members of the community were organized for emigration from Russia, Rumania, Algeria, and other countries, in suitable groups, and the immigration rose from five hundred to one thousand per day, until it amounted to a total of a half million a year. They could all become citizens after two years' domicile; they had all to devote two years to the public service; and women enjoyed equal rights with

men as regards voting in elections and standing as candidates. The Society governed itself and elected its own President, who was the venerable Professor Eichenstamm (Mandelstamm); there was no plurality of parties; the political assembly sat for only a few weeks in the year; and there were friendly relations between Jews and Arabs, for racial tolerance was a dominant principle. All sorts of cultural interests were furthered, and there were theatres with plays and operas in different languages. The old part of Jerusalem was cleaned up and a residential section was erected in the suburbs. The city contained the counterpart of a Temple, a magnificent synagogue, which attracted hosts of devout worshippers on the approach of Sabbath, which was marked by the sudden cessation of all traffic and the closing of shops and offices. There were also two other important institutions in Jerusalem—the Palace of Peace, devoted to causes of humanity (providing relief for the victims of floods, famine, and epidemics), and a Jewish Academy (like the *Académie Française*) of forty members—scholars, philosophers, and artists—who received a salary sufficient for their livelihood and to enable them to devote themselves to their ideals.

Such is the very barest outline of *Altneuland*, which is by no means lacking in human interest, for, apart from the detailed forecast of social, economic, and cultural developments, there is a mutual attraction between Loewenberg and David Litvak's sister, Miriam (modeled on Herzl's sister), and David's aged mother dies after hearing the happy news of her son's election as President. Moreover, this election affords a glimpse of political currents and competing personalities. But the main purpose of the book, upon which Herzl lavished both labor and love, was to show that the re-establishment of the Jews as a nation in their ancient homeland was an idea whose realization could be envisaged.

The book naturally aroused the greatest interest and was widely reviewed. Herzl regarded it as his best work, on a level with his *Palais Bourbon*.¹⁰ For the most part, it met with approval, if not with enthusiasm, since the romance was subordinate to a thesis; but from one writer it received the most scathing and scarifying criticism: Ahad Ha-am delivered a ruthless attack upon it, primarily because it failed to portray a background of Jewish cultural life, with Hebrew as the national tongue. But in defense of Herzl, it must be pointed out that at the beginning of the twentieth century the speaking of Hebrew was by no means widespread, even in Palestine, where the medium of instruction in schools was English, French, or German, according to the nationality of the organization that supported them. Ahad Ha-am was attacked in turn by Max Nordau in a somewhat intemperate article, which provoked an indignant rejoinder from some of the followers of Ahad Ha-am, including Chaim Weizmann and Martin Buber. But this controversy did not prevent *Altneuland* from achieving a measure of popularity and being translated into several languages,¹¹ while the motto on its title page: "If you wish it, this is no fairy tale," became an oft-quoted maxim in the Zionist world for many years.

¹⁰ Adolf Friedemann, *Das Leben Theodor Herzls*, p. 66.

¹¹ It was translated into Hebrew by Nahum Sokolow, under the title of *Tel-Aviv* (Ezekiel 3:15), which later became famous as the name of the largest city in the State of Israel.

XIV

Sinai Peninsula Plan

WHEN HERZL LEFT YILDIZ KIOSK ON APRIL 2, 1902, HE DID NOT burn his bridges behind him. He was given a written statement in the name of the Sultan, that Jews could settle in the Ottoman Empire in scattered groups, and that Ottoman citizenship would be conferred upon them on condition that they discharged all civic duties, including military service. This offer was, of course, quite unacceptable to him, but it left the door open in the event he wished to resume negotiations in the future. From the conversations that he had had with the Sultan's advisers, he knew that they looked upon him as a "client" for the Vilayet of Beirut. The only question was: when would the time come to discuss it? He thought that it could be accelerated if he could form a Jewish Eastern Company with the help of Lord Rothschild or the British Government, for he would then become a friendly neighbor of the Sandjak of Jerusalem, which he would seek to acquire somehow at a suitable opportunity. He made no secret of the fact that his last visit to Constantinople had been a failure, but frankly admitted it in *Die Welt* and stated that his main reason for this confession—inconsistent though it appeared—was that he enjoyed the confidence of the Sultan in a rare degree.

Such was his state of mind at the time he received a telegram (on September 22) from Leopold Greenberg, informing him that the Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, was willing to grant him an interview. Greenberg's

success in thus enabling the Zionist leader to begin formal discussions with a member of the British Cabinet was probably due, at least to some extent, to an old acquaintanceship with Chamberlain, dating back to the days when they both lived in Birmingham and often engaged in political argument. Herzl was unable to go to London immediately, as Benedikt wanted his help to fight the newly established daily, *Die Zeit*: for one particular number of the *Neue Freie Presse*, he was asked to write the leading article besides providing a feuilleton. Not until October 19 did he decide to slip away without informing his chiefs verbally; but in a letter to Benedikt, which he posted, together with a feuilleton, just before his departure, he hinted at the possibility of sending him an interview with Chamberlain, then at the zenith of his fame. As he still had a day free on reaching London before his appointment, he wrote another feuilleton, despite the whirl going on in his brain, on "An October Evening in London," and considered it "an extraordinary achievement."

Herzl had his first talk with Chamberlain, which lasted an hour, at the Colonial Office on October 22. He began by describing his protracted and futile efforts in Constantinople, emphasized the need of finding land immediately for a Jewish settlement, and said that he would like to have Cyprus,¹ El Arish, and the Sinai Peninsula. Chamberlain, who showed himself sympathetic, replied that he could talk only about Cyprus: the other places belonged to the domain of the Foreign Office. In Cyprus, there were Greeks and Moslems, whom he could not push aside for the benefit of

¹ Herzl thought of Cyprus from time to time, from 1896, as a possible region for a Jewish settlement. In 1899, when propaganda was being conducted in Rumania by Davis Trietsch, a German Zionist, for a colony in Cyprus, Herzl thought it "very sensible," but was deterred from expressing his views out of regard for the *Hovevei Zion* (*Tagebücher*, vol. II, p. 364).

new settlers, as there would at once be a storm; but the Zionist idea appealed to him and he was prepared to help.

Herzl suggested that, if he formed a Jewish Eastern Company with a capital of five million pounds, for a settlement in the Sinai Peninsula and El Arish,² the Cypriots would like the rain of gold to fall upon their island, too. The Moslems would leave, and the Greeks would gladly sell their lands for good prices and go to Athens or Crete. Chamberlain said that the Government would have to consult Lord Cromer about El Arish and the Sinai Peninsula, and Herzl must speak to the Foreign Office. He took an atlas, to study a map of Egypt, and said: "In Egypt we would have the same difficulty with the natives."

"No," said Herzl, "we will not go to Egypt. We have been there."

Chamberlain laughed, fully understanding that Herzl's purpose was to obtain a gathering center for the Jewish people in the proximity of Palestine. The Zionist leader pointed out that there was waste land in the Sinai Peninsula, which England could give to the Jews and thus gain an increase in power and the gratitude of ten million Jews. He asked Chamberlain: "Would you be satisfied if we founded a Jewish colony in the Sinai Peninsula?"

"Yes," was the reply, "if Lord Cromer favors it."

Herzl considered that it was a colossal achievement that Chamberlain had not turned down at the outset the idea of a self-governing Jewish colony in the southeastern corner of the Mediterranean. He had another talk with him at the Colonial Office the following morning, when Chamberlain told him that he had arranged an interview for him with the Foreign Secretary, Lord Lansdowne, in the afternoon. He then went to New Court and informed Lord Rothschild of

² El Arish is the northern part of the Sinai Peninsula.

his friendly reception by Chamberlain, whereupon the financial magnate said that he would call upon the Colonial Secretary in the following week. Rothschild observed that he preferred Cyprus to El Arish, but Herzl replied that he must begin with the latter. Rothschild added that he had recently written to somebody in Paris about the question of the Rumanian and Galician Jews and had accused the wealthy Jews in Austria of indolence, "because they don't listen to Dr. Herzl, who may be an enthusiast, but who is a great man."

"What?" exclaimed Herzl. "You really embarrass me."

"No, it is my opinion. You are a great man."

"If we get the concession," continued the Zionist leader, "you must form the five-million-pound company for me. Without you it will be difficult, even if possible at all."

When Herzl called later at the Foreign Office, he was given a sympathetic hearing by Lord Lansdowne, who asked for an exposition and promised to write to Lord Cromer; and on hearing that Herzl would send Greenberg to Cairo to negotiate, the Foreign Secretary agreed to give him an introduction to Cromer. In his exposition, Herzl stated that the solution of the Jewish question in Eastern Europe could be effected in a manner that would confer honor and advantage upon England, and that an offer of territory by her Government for the oppressed Jews who were gravitating to her shores would follow logically upon the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration. In the southeastern corner of the Mediterranean, the coastal stretch of El Arish and the Sinai Peninsula, Britain had a possession that was at present valueless and almost uninhabited, which could be made a place of refuge for the downtrodden Jews of all the world, if only she permitted the establishment of a Jewish colony there. On the basis of such a concession, there would be

formed a Jewish Eastern Company, which would organize the settlement by means of technicians and agronomists, build roads, railways, and harbors, and parcel out the land for the immigrants. The latter would be powerfully attracted by the colonial rights that they would enjoy, and the settlers would consist not only of the poor from Eastern Europe in search of employment but also of people with capital. In a few years, England would be greater by a rich colony, and Jews throughout the world would bear England in their hearts if she became the protecting power of the Jewish people.

2

On October 24, Herzl returned to Vienna and was soon immersed in the discussions of the *Jahreskonferenz* (Conference of the Actions Committee), which left him quite exhausted. A fortnight later, he wrote in his Diary that he felt broken down and worn out, suffering from palpitations of the heart. For a whole week, he was unable to write a line and had to report sick to the *Neue Freie Presse*. He therefore went to Edlach, where he soon recovered.

Meanwhile, Greenberg had been to Egypt and back. The message that Herzl had received from him from Cairo was so optimistic—"Everything all right"—that he indulged in the thought that he was on the eve of the conclusion of an English Charter and of the founding of the Jewish State.³ His hopes were reinforced when Greenberg joined him at Edlach and reported that he had succeeded in gaining the sympathy of Cromer, as well as that of the Egyptian Prime Minister, Boutros Ghali Pasha, and of the more important British high officials; and so favorably impressed was he that he regarded Greenberg as "truly my right hand." He dis-

³ *Tagebücher*, vol. III, p. 309.

patched a letter on the result of this preliminary mission to Lansdowne and gave Greenberg a copy to hand to Chamberlain. As he did not wish the Sultan to think that he had broken off relations with him in case he obtained an Egyptian Charter, he wrote him a letter to the effect that he had heard that the Turkish Government was interested in deriving a revenue from matches, and suggested that the Government should act as the sole wholesale purchaser of matches and sell them at a profit. At the same time he sent him a copy of his *Altneuland* and assured him that he remained "sincerely grateful and devoted to the magnanimous Sultan, who is the friend of my people."

Herzl at first intended going to Cairo himself, but on hearing from Greenberg that he had spoken to Lansdowne and Chamberlain, and that the latter was going to Africa and had promised to ask Cromer to expedite matters, he accepted Greenberg's advice to wait until Lansdowne invited him to London. At this juncture, he received encouraging news from Dr. Katzenelsohn, of Libau, that there was a possibility of his being granted an audience by the Tsar, whom he was anxious to see in order to dispel any Russian objections to a Jewish settlement in Palestine. He therefore sent a copy of his political romance to the Austrian Premier, Koerber, as he might need the good offices of the Austrian Ambassador in St. Petersburg.

At last, over a month after he had written to Lansdowne, Herzl (on December 21) received a reply, signed by his secretary, Sir Thomas H. Sanderson, which he characterized as "a historic document." It stated that Lord Cromer reported that the project on the Sinai Peninsula would be feasible, if the proposed Commission of Enquiry found that the actual conditions were suitable, and that the Egyptian Government would demand only the acceptance of Ottoman

citizenship by the settlers and the payment of an annual contribution for the maintenance of order within and without. Herzl promptly replied to both Lansdowne and Sander-son, thanking them for the letter, and informing them that he intended coming to London early in the new year, as there were some points that required personal explanation. After emptying his drawer of feuilletons in the editorial office, on the last day of 1902, before setting out on his journey, he was overcome by a serious fainting fit, which lasted for some time. He was also seized by a feeling of apprehension about absenting himself again from the *Neue Freie Presse* without the permission of his chiefs, as he had been away so often and so long. But in view of the international situation and the imminent annexation of Tripoli by Italy, he considered it imperative to speak to Lansdowne and Rothschild. In his Diary he wrote:

I find it more and more difficult to set out on a journey, doubtless because I am getting older, more timorous, and more concerned about my livelihood. This time my good, wise mother has also made me anxious: I should not take any risks with my livelihood.⁴

3

In the first week of January, 1903, Herzl was in Paris, where he conferred with Nordau, Alexander Marmorek, and Greenberg on the drafting of a reply to Lansdowne, and when this was ready, it was taken by Greenberg to London. Herzl also wrote a letter to Lord Rothschild, asking for an interview, and, on arriving in London, was pleasantly surprised to receive a reply that Rothschild would come to see him at his hotel. "Two years ago," commented Herzl, "he would not even meet me at Lady Battersea's." He showed

⁴ *Tagebücher*, vol. III, p. 323.

the magnate his correspondence with the British Government, and told him that he would like him to get three million pounds from the Jewish Colonization Association for the Jewish Eastern Company, and that the remaining two million pounds would be raised by public subscription. Rothschild informed him that there were serious conflicts between the English members of the Council of the I.C.A. and their colleagues on the Continent, owing to the enormous sums that had been spent, and that both sides had turned to him for advice, whereupon Herzl begged him to utilize the situation for the benefit of his project. After his visitor had gone, he sat down to write a feuilleton on "An Evening in Paris" for the *Neue Freie Presse*.

On January 16, Herzl was at New Court, where he continued the discussion about the formation and financing of the company. When he inquired whether he should include the millionaire Sir Ernest Cassel, Rothschild replied: "If he is willing, why not? But he always wants to be at the head."

Herzl: "No, you shall be at the head of the financial side."

Rothschild: "No, no; you stand at the head, Dr. Herzl. I only want to be your co-worker. I am glad if I can help you."

"Put not your trust in princes (not even of finance)," was the Zionist leader's unspoken but written comment.

Later in the day, accompanied by Greenberg, he went to the Foreign Office to see Sir Thomas Sanderson, the Permanent Under-Secretary, who told him that the utmost he might expect was a Charter from the Egyptian Government. Herzl described the proposed itinerary and personnel of the Expedition, and, on mentioning that he needed an irrigation expert, Sir Thomas recommended Sir Benjamin Baker, the famous builder of the Firth of Forth Bridge and of the Assuan Dam. He therefore went to see Baker, who recommended an irrigation engineer named G. H. Stephens.

Herzl appointed Leopold Kessler (1864–1944), who had spent many years as a consulting mining engineer in South Africa, where he had been one of the pioneers of Zionism, as the leader of the Expedition to the Sinai Peninsula. The other members of the Expedition were Colonel Albert Goldsmid, who was to be the liaison with the British authorities and quartermaster; Oskar Marmorek, architect and general secretary; Alex Laurent, expert on agricultural settlement; Jennings Bramly, surveyor (formerly employed in the Sudan); Stephens, irrigation expert; and Dr. Joffe, of Jaffa, to act as doctor and report on climatic hygienic conditions. Kessler, of whom Herzl thought highly as a geologist with the knowledge and calm requisite for such an enterprise, was to preside at meetings of the Expedition and have a casting vote. Each member was to keep a diary, extracts from which, besides daily minutes, were to be dispatched to Herzl as often as possible. The task of the Expedition was to investigate the suitability of the land between the Suez Canal and the Turkish frontier on the Mediterranean for rural and urban settlement; and all its members had to sign an undertaking that they would not publish or report anything about their activities without the previous consent of the President of the Zionist Organization.

In order to obtain the financial cooperation of the Jewish Colonization Association, Lord Rothschild invited Herbert Lousada, a member of its Council, to New Court, and, in the presence of Herzl, impressed upon him the importance of agreeing to the Sinai Peninsula project, as both the Foreign Secretary and the Colonial Secretary were in favor of it and as it enjoyed the patronage of the British and Egyptian Governments. He told him that Herzl required five million pounds, of which the I.C.A. should provide three million, while the balance would be raised by public subscription.

Herzl asked Lousada to inform his English fellow directors, Claude Montefiore and Alfred Cohen, and Lousada promised that as soon as the Egyptian Government's concession and the Expedition's report were received, he would convene a meeting of his Council.

On January 21, Herzl had a further conference with the members of the Expedition, to discuss various details, with the aid of General Staff and Admiralty maps, which Colonel Goldsmid, thanks to his official position, had been able to obtain. After they had gone, he sat down to write a feuilleton for the *Neue Freie Presse*, which occupied him until midnight. He sent it off with a covering letter to Benedikt (whom he nicknamed "Maledikt"), in which he wrote that it was possible that in a few months' time he would ask for leave to retire, but that until then he would be at the disposal of the editor when he was in Vienna, and would send him a feuilleton every week when he was abroad. During his absence from Vienna, a violent attack upon Chamberlain had appeared in his paper. He therefore wrote to Chamberlain immediately to express his regret and annoyance, and he felt so strongly about it that he offered to sever his connection with the *Neue Freie Presse* as a demonstration of his loyalty, although his leaving would mean the withdrawal of "a strong pro-English element from the personnel of the journal." His offer was not accepted. He also wrote a letter to Lansdowne to inform him that the Expedition, after reaching Egypt, would set out from Ismailia about February 4, and that he had instructed Greenberg to return to Cairo in order to obtain a Charter from the Egyptian Government for the projected settlement. He furnished Greenberg with a formal letter of authorization, investing him with "the fullest powers" to act on his behalf "as well as on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Zionist movement."

4

Herzl was back again in Vienna toward the end of January, and on February 5, he received a wire from Greenberg, from Cairo, reporting that he and the Expedition had arrived there and had already been received by Lord Cromer. So confident was he of the successful outcome of the enterprise that he wrote to Lord Rothschild, asking him to be in Paris at the time of the meeting of the Jewish Colonization Association after the receipt of the Expedition's report and the concession, as he was sure that the authority of his Lordship would exercise a decisive influence. He added that he would be there himself and would like to meet the brothers, Baron Edmond and Baron Alphonse de Rothschild, in the presence of Lord Rothschild, as, in case any objection to the project were raised by the French Government, they could dispel it. Moreover, in view of any possible obstruction on the part of the Russian Government, he hoped to go and see the Tsar himself. He concluded:

The time of our life is short, and we must make haste if we wish to create something good as long as we are on the earth.

Although entertaining such high hopes in regard to the Sinai Peninsula, Herzl nevertheless resumed his efforts to secure from the Turkish Government a concession in Palestine. He wrote a letter to the Grand Vizier on February 16, informing him that he was negotiating with another Government for a concession for a colony in a country in Africa without having to provide any financial guarantee, yet offering him an annual payment of one hundred thousand pounds, which would enable him to obtain immediately a loan of two million Turkish pounds (the amortization of which was covered by those payments). He

also wrote a letter on the same day to the Sultan, in which he made the same offer, specifying a part of Galilee as the territory for the colony, under the Sultan's sovereignty, for which the loan would be provided, and addressed similar letters to Ibrahim, Tahsin, and Izzet. But on the very day that he dispatched these letters to Constantinople, he received a wire from Greenberg that the Turkish Commissioner in Cairo was doing all he could to frustrate his negotiations. He therefore wired back to Greenberg to promise the Commissioner two thousand pounds after the Charter had been signed by the Egyptian Government. This idea had been suggested to him by a Young Turk, who was physician to the Turkish Embassy in Vienna, and who called on Herzl to thank him for a favorable review of his book of poems in the *Neue Freie Presse*. Herzl utilized his services for the translation into Turkish of the letter to the Sultan, and as he could not expect any help from a Turkish official without payment, he offered him a subsidy, which the poet modestly fixed at one thousand francs.

The next day, Herzl received a disquieting telegram from Greenberg that it was impossible to get a Charter from the Khedive and he had proposed "an alternative," in accordance with Cromer's instructions, which was now being considered. Herzl wired back: "Do not understand what you mean alternative," and asked for a "full explanation." Then followed a daily exchange of cablegrams, which caused Herzl increasing alarm and annoyance. Instead of explaining, Greenberg wired that he was returning direct to London, as it was urgent that he should call on Sanderson, and he asked Herzl to meet him in Paris. The leader felt affronted at this request from his lieutenant, and replied that he was not going to Paris and was anxiously awaiting a full report. Before leaving Cairo, on February 22, Greenberg cabled that

the "document" had received the signature of the Egyptian Government and was "in order" and "very satisfactory," and, on reaching Brindisi four days later, he wired that the "document" agreed to concede to the Jewish Eastern Company a territory which would be constituted as a municipality, the latter being an alternative to a Charter.

Not until March 2 did Herzl receive Greenberg's report and the "document" from London. He characterized the report as "the masterpiece of a not quite loyal agent," and he found that the "document" was a noncommittal letter of the Egyptian Prime Minister Boutros to Greenberg for a Jewish National Settlement Company. The letter made no mention of Herzl or of the Jewish Colonial Trust, contained hypothetical promises and very definite restrictions, and expressly refused a Charter. Moreover, in Greenberg's draft Charter, of which a typed copy had been enclosed (apparently inadvertently), the name of the concessionaire was omitted, while his report showed that he had not acted in Cairo as Herzl's authorized representative but as "chief and in his own right." Herzl thereupon wrote to Greenberg, expressing dissatisfaction with the report and the "document," and also with his not having traveled through Vienna to render a personal report, which he could easily have done without being too late for an appointment in London.

A week later Herzl wrote to Kessler, authorizing him and Goldsmid to continue the negotiations with the Egyptian Government, with a view to achieving something between Boutros's letter and Greenberg's draft Charter, which had been approved by Cromer. When Greenberg arrived in Vienna on March 16, he had an unpleasant interview with Herzl. He objected to the transfer of authority to Kessler and Goldsmid, yet declined to return to Cairo at once and wanted to await the return of the Expedition. Herzl there-

fore decided to go to Cairo himself, difficult though further absence from his paper must be, and the Zionist Executive approved of his decision. Before leaving Vienna, he wrote to Lord Rothschild that the reports from the Expedition showed that the contemplated territory was suitable for a large settlement and that there were preliminary assurances from the Egyptian Government in favor of the project; and he asked Rothschild to request the President of the Jewish Colonization Association, Narcisse Leven, to convene a meeting of its Council for April 12, when he would make an important statement to them.

5

Herzl arrived in Cairo on March 23, and two days later he had an interview with Lord Cromer, which left him disappointed. He said that he would need water from the Nile for the settlement, but Cromer replied that he could not say anything definite until the return of his expert, Sir William Garstin, which would be in a month. Herzl showed him a letter and telegram from Lord Rothschild, but he was not impressed. Referring to Boutros's letter to Greenberg, Cromer said: "We can't go beyond this: within these limits the Turkish Government cannot object." He also wanted to await the return of the Expedition and to see Stephens. Herzl felt that he did not appeal to Cromer, and that it was a mistake that he had not spoken in French, as he would then have been in a position of superiority. Two days later, the members of the Expedition were back in Cairo and delivered their reports. It was summed up in the sentence: "In present circumstances unsuitable for settlement; but if water is provided suitable for settlement." That was the crux of the whole problem. Herzl sent a copy of the report to Cromer,

who afterward invited him, Goldsmid, and Stephens to a conference, during which Stephens pointed out that the volume of water necessary could easily be provided. Cromer told Herzl that he must now apply to the Egyptian Government for a concession, and the Zionist leader therefore spent the next few days, in collaboration with a local lawyer, Carton de Wiart, in drafting the text of the concession, which was approved by the Government's legal adviser, Malcolm McIlwraith. Before leaving Egypt, on April 4, Herzl wrote to Cromer that Goldsmid was remaining in Cairo with power to act as his representative.

After a few days in Vienna, Herzl was on his travels again. On April 16, he was in Paris, where he had a conference with his friends, Nordau, Wolffsohn, Greenberg, and Cowen. He also had a talk, in the palatial home of Baron Alphonse de Rothschild, with Lord Rothschild, who asked him to draw up a memorandum for the Jewish Colonization Association. A week later, he was in London, where he had another talk with Rothschild, who told him that he had written to Jacob H. Schiff, the New York banker and philanthropist, to help in the scheme, and that Baron Edmond was delighted with it. Far more important, however, than these talks was the interview that he had, on April 24, with Joseph Chamberlain at the Colonial Office.

Chamberlain, who welcomed Herzl like an old acquaintance, told him that, when he was in Egypt, he spoke to Cromer about the Zionist project, and that he had read the report of the Expedition, which he considered unfavorable. He then continued:

"During my journey I saw a land for you—Uganda. It's hot on the coast, but toward the interior the climate is excellent for Europeans, too. You can plant sugar and cotton there. So I thought to myself—that would be a land for Dr.

Herzl. But he wants to go only to Palestine or its vicinity."

"Yes, I must," replied Herzl. "We must have the basis in or near Palestine. Later we can also settle in Uganda, for we have masses of men who are ready to emigrate. But we must build on a national basis; that is why we must have the political attraction of El Arish. This, however, is not understood in Egypt. In any case I couldn't express myself there as clearly as here."

They then discussed the financial aspect of the project, the necessity of having Lord Rothschild's support, and the possibility of a bill to restrict Jewish immigration, which Herzl strongly deprecated. Chamberlain concluded the interview by promising to speak to Lansdowne in an effort to exercise pressure upon Cromer to accelerate the matter. In the afternoon, Herzl had a talk himself with Lansdowne, to whom he gave a copy of the Expedition's report, but his visit was only an act of courtesy.

A couple of days later, he was back again in Paris, where he saw five members of the Council of the Jewish Colonization Association, who agreed to contribute not three million pounds, as he had hoped, but one million pounds, toward the cost of realizing the Sinai Peninsula project if a concession were granted. On May 1, he was home again, and he at once cabled to Goldsmid for the latest news. The replies that he received were shattering. First came a cablegram, stating that Sir William Garstin was opposed to the project because of the quantity of water from the Nile that would be required, and on the next day, another cablegram with the more crushing news that Cromer recommended the abandonment of the plan. In despair, Herzl wired to Stephens for advice. Stephens suggested that the area in the Pelusium Plain should be reduced by a third, thus reducing the amount of water required by a similar proportion. But the proposal was in

vain. A few days later, another cablegram came from Goldsmid, stating that Cromer had informed him that the Egyptian Government refused the concession. Finally, a letter came from Goldsmid, explaining that Sir William Garstin declared that five times as much water would be needed as Stephens had estimated, and that the laying down of the pipes would interfere with the traffic in the Suez Canal for several weeks. In short, the Sinai Peninsula project was dead and all the hopes built upon it were in ruins.⁵

"I considered the Sinai matter so completely settled," wrote Herzl in his Diary ⁶ on May 16, "that I no longer wished to buy a family vault in the Döblinger Cemetery, where my father rests provisionally. Now I consider the matter such a failure that I have been to the District Office and acquired vault No. 28."

It was with a heavy heart that he wrote to Lord Rothschild, to inform him of the blow he had suffered. He also sent a similar letter to the Chief Rabbi of France, Zadok Kahn, and asked him to inform the Council of the Jewish Colonization Association.

⁵ It was believed that the Egyptian Government was also influenced by the failure of a previous scheme for a Jewish settlement, in the region of ancient Midian, undertaken in 1891-1892 by a converted Jew, Paul Friedmann.

⁶ *Tagebücher*, vol. III, p. 429.

XV

Mission to Russia

THE COLLAPSE OF THE SINAI PENINSULA PROJECT OCCURRED AT a tragic hour in the tribulations of the Jews in Russia. A barbarous pogrom had taken place in the Easter week of 1903, in Kishineff, the capital of the province of Bessarabia, which sent a shudder of terror throughout the Jewish communities in the Tsar's dominions and caused a shock to the whole civilized world. There had been anti-Jewish excesses in Russia before, the first having taken place in 1881, but over ten years had elapsed since the Jews had last been subjected to organized massacre, and it had been believed that such outbursts of bestial savagery would never recur. All the greater, therefore, was the consternation and horror aroused by the orgy of slaughter and plunder that had now taken place. For two whole days, April 6 and 7, Jews were at the mercy of bands of marauders armed with axes, iron bars, and clubs, who did not recoil even from killing pregnant women and murdering babies. The casualties consisted of forty-five persons dead and nearly six hundred wounded, eighty-six seriously, while fifteen hundred Jewish houses and shops were plundered or demolished.

The Kishineff pogrom was all the more revolting and disquieting because the attendant circumstances showed that it had been deliberately planned with the knowledge and even support of the Government and carried out with the complicity of the local authorities. For weeks beforehand, the minds of the populace were poisoned and inflamed by

defamation of the Jews in the only Kishineff paper allowed by the Government and subsidized by it, which falsely accused them of "ritual murder," while further incendiary material consisted of pamphlets printed by a department of the Holy Synod in St. Petersburg. The onslaught began simultaneously in many parts of the city, as though by a prearranged signal; it was facilitated by the previous marking of the houses and shops of Jews with white chalk; and the assailants comprised not only peasants brought into the city but also local workingmen, students, officials, and priests. Even policemen and soldiers, instead of protecting the Jews, took part in bludgeoning them, without any restraint being exercised by their superiors; and when a deputation of Jews called upon the Governor, to beg him to suppress the excesses, he replied that he had not received orders from St. Petersburg to do so, and sent them away, with the result that many of them were wounded and one was killed. For two whole days, the Jewish quarters of the city were the scene of violence, murder, rape, and robbery, in which the most brutal outrages were committed upon the living and the dead, synagogues were desecrated, and Scrolls of the *Torah* were defiled and torn into shreds.¹ Not until telegraphic orders were received from St. Petersburg did the pogrom cease, as suddenly as it had begun. The all-powerful Minister of the Interior, Viatcheslav Plehve (1846–1904), thereupon forbade the Russian press to print any account of the dreadful and shameful happenings and compelled the papers to state that there had been a sudden outbreak provoked by the Jews. This mendacious story was disproved

¹ The Kishineff pogrom was dealt with very fully in many books, notably in E. Semenov, *The Russian Government and the Massacres* (1907), I. Singer, *Russia at the Bar of the American people* (1904), and *Die Judenpogrome in Russland* (1910).

not only by the testimony of some Russian witnesses courageous enough to speak the truth at the subsequent trial of a number of persons accused of having taken part in the pogrom, but also by a secret letter published in the *London Times*, sent by Plehve to the Governor of Kishineff two weeks before it occurred, instructing him that, in case of anti-Jewish "disturbances," he should refrain from using arms, so as not to arouse "hostile feelings against the Government."

The catastrophe that befell the Jews of Kishineff spread a feeling of alarm and panic among all the other Jews in Russia, who feared that they might become the victims of a similar disaster. It also gave an impetus to emigration, in which, as after previous pogroms, they saw their only means of escape. Brooding over this somber situation, Herzl again decided to seek an audience with the Tsar. On May 19, he wrote a letter to Plehve in which he stated that he had heard that a feeling of despair had overtaken the Jews in Russia, which had resulted in the older generation being paralyzed in their economic activity, while the younger had succumbed to revolutionary doctrines. This distressing state of affairs could be stopped if the Tsar would receive him, as it would produce a tranquilizing effect, and he could, at the same time, give full information about the Zionist movement. He recalled that he had some years before written a memorandum on the movement, which had been presented by the Grand Duke of Baden to the Tsar, and also that both the Grand Dukes of Baden and of Hesse had asked his Majesty to grant him an audience. Now that so serious a crisis had arisen, he ventured to repeat his request, through the fulfillment of which he would be able to render the Russian Government an important service. He sent a copy of the letter to the Procurator of the Holy Synod, Podiedonostsev,

and asked him to support his request. Baroness von Suttner gave her willing cooperation by addressing a letter to the Tsar through the medium of the Russian Ambassador in Vienna, in which she earnestly recommended the Zionist leader to his Majesty's favor.

2

While impatiently awaiting the response to his efforts, Herzl continued to occupy himself with the problem of securing a territory for a Jewish settlement. A few days after dispatching his letters to St. Petersburg, he received a long report from Greenberg (dated May 20), stating that he had had another talk with Joseph Chamberlain, who offered a territory in East Africa large enough for a million Jews, with local self-government—not Uganda, but in the same region. Herzl replied that the proposal must be taken into serious consideration, and asked for details. Before receiving that report, Herzl for a short time considered the possibility of a settlement in Mozambique, which had suggested itself to him as the result of Chamberlain having mentioned Uganda to him in their last interview. He thought of acquiring the island from the needy Portuguese Government, but only to offer it later to the British Government in exchange for the whole of the Sinai Peninsula, including water from the Nile, as well as Cyprus (a plan that seemed to leave the views of the Egyptian Government entirely out of account).

After obtaining an introduction to the Portuguese Ambassador in Vienna, Count Paraty, from Premier Koerber, Herzl called upon him for an exploratory talk, and followed this up with a letter in which he asked for a territory suitable for colonization by fifty thousand families. But he had not abandoned all hope of reaching a satisfactory agreement with

the Turkish Government. On June 4, he wrote a letter to Izzet Bey, in which, after referring to the Kishineff atrocity and stressing the need of finding immediate relief for the afflicted Jews, he proposed that Izzet's offer of territory in Mesopotamia, made in February, 1902, should be combined with his own suggestion concerning the Sandjak of Acre. A week later, he had a second talk with Count Paraty, who was willing to give him introductions to the Portuguese Prime Minister and the Colonial Minister if he would arrange to go to Lisbon. Thereupon he convened a meeting of the Zionist Executive to ascertain their views on his Portuguese African plan. They were divided. Kahn and Marmorek were in favor, but Kokesch was strongly opposed, while Kremenezky agreed with Herzl that they could demand Palestine with greater insistence if they already had a legally secured gathering-center elsewhere. After further reflection, Herzl decided to abandon the Mozambique idea, as it would become known if he went to Lisbon and would have a prejudicial effect upon Chamberlain's offer. A few days later (on June 14), he received a telegram from Greenberg, saying that Chamberlain wished to see a draft agreement for a Jewish settlement, which he would submit to the Government for consideration. Not until after another month did he reply to Count Paraty that he was too busy to go to Lisbon before September.

Meanwhile, he heard from Baroness von Suttner that the Tsar would not receive him. He therefore wrote (on July 8) to a Polish lady in St. Petersburg, Madame von Korwin Piotrowska, whose sympathetic interest in Zionism had been aroused by a zealous Warsaw Zionist, Dr. I. Jasinowski, that he was anxious to see Plehve, who had not answered his letter. The reply that he received was that he would be granted an interview by Plehve, who would be glad "to make the acquaintance of so interesting a personality as Dr. Herzl

and would support with all his heart an emigration without return."

Between writing to this Polish lady and receiving her reply, Herzl made yet a further inquiry about a territory. He wrote to Franz Philippson, of Brussels, of the Council of the Jewish Colonization Association, to find out whether he would help him to get a tract of land in the Congo Free State for a self-governing colony, and whether he would approach King Leopold II to ascertain if he would receive Herzl. Philippson promptly refused to further such a project, and wrote that the Congo was unsuitable for a Jewish settlement.

Herzl did not pursue the matter, but began to make preparations for his journey to St. Petersburg. He wrote to Lord Rothschild to inform him of his plan, and asked for an introduction to the Russian Finance Minister Witte, but the request was declined without any plausible excuse. He then invited a leading member of the Actions Committee, Dr. N. Katzenelsohn, a banker of Libau, to come to Vienna to discuss the details of the journey and to be his traveling companion. He also held a meeting at his home of the Executive and some friends to deal with various matters before his departure. Suddenly, without a word of explanation, he disappeared. His friends wondered where he had gone, and, when he returned some time later, he evaded their questions. Not until he was in the train with Katzenelsohn did he explain where he had been. "It was not very polite of me," he said, "suddenly to disappear from you, but it was a journey that I had to make. I didn't want to take this step, perhaps the most important in my life, without failing to do what I never omit before such momentous undertakings—first paying a visit to my father's grave." It was a manifestation of the filial piety that remained with him until the end.

3

Herzl arrived in St. Petersburg on August 7, and, on the following day, had an interview of an hour and a quarter with the dreaded Minister of the Interior. He probably knew that Plehve was generally reputed to have been an accessory to the massacre, but he thought that it was nevertheless his duty to speak to him because of what he might achieve, as he had been informed that a secret order had been issued to all provincial governors and chiefs of police, forbidding all Zionist meetings and collections throughout Russia, and he hoped to secure the suppression of the order.

Plehve, who gave Herzl a friendly welcome (and even offered him a cigarette, which was declined), said that he considered the Jewish question in Russia rather important and he was trying to solve it in as good a way as possible. The Russian State must have a homogeneous population and the Jews must adopt a patriotic attitude. The Government wanted to effect their assimilation in two ways—by higher education and economic advancement. Those who fulfilled these conditions, and thus became upholders of the existing polity, were given civil rights, but assimilation was proceeding very slowly. He admitted that only a limited number of Jews could be allowed to receive higher education, as otherwise there would soon be no positions left for Christians. He also agreed that the economic situation in the Jewish Pale of Settlement was bad, but this was a large area, comprising thirteen provinces; and he added that conditions had recently become worse because Jews had joined revolutionary parties.

Turning to Zionism, the Minister said that he approved of it as long as it aimed at emigration, but the Government had lately noticed a change. There had been less talk of

Zionism and more emphasis had been laid on culture, organization, and Jewish nationality. They did not like that. Plehve displayed a remarkable knowledge of leading Russian Zionists and mentioned the names of some who, he said, had not been obedient to the Vienna Executive.

Herzl replied that the opposition that he had to cope with was similar to the phenomenon experienced by Columbus. As long as there was no land visible after weeks of sailing, there was insubordination; but as soon as land was glimpsed, the murmuring ceased. "Help me to reach the land sooner," he said, "and the revolt will cease. The defection to the Socialists will also stop."

Plehve asked what help Herzl wanted, whereupon the Zionist leader submitted three specific requests: first, the Russian Government should intervene with the Turkish Government, so that it should grant a Charter for a settlement in Palestine to be founded, with sufficient capital, by a Jewish colonization company which would pay an annual tribute to the Ottoman treasury; second, the Russian Government should support Jewish emigration by means of subsidies derived from Jewish communal funds; and third, the Russian Government "should facilitate the loyal organization of Russian Zionist societies according to the Basle Program." Plehve immediately agreed to all three requests and asked for an exposition embodying them. Herzl promised to let him have such a document and also the text of a statement to be read at the forthcoming Congress, which, besides mentioning the three points, would add that the Russian Government, "to prove the humanitarian character of these measures," proposes to enlarge the Jewish Pale of Settlement very soon for those who do not wish to emigrate.

Herzl also asked for the ratification of the constitution of Zionist societies, which would be submitted; and meanwhile,

the Minister might issue orders to the Governors to tolerate the movement. Plehve replied: "I cannot order toleration. But submit to me a draft constitution." Finally, Herzl asked for an introduction to Witte, which Plehve immediately wrote out, and then for the favor of another audience after his exposition had been studied. Plehve promised a second audience, and, as he gripped Herzl by the hand on parting, said that he was very happy to have made his acquaintance.

Accompanied by Dr. Katzenelsohn, Herzl next went to see General Kireyev (brother of Madame Olga Novikoff, who held a political salon in London before the First World War), Chamberlain of a Grand Duchess living in a castle at Pavlovsk, "a sort of Russian Potsdam," some distance from the capital. He succeeded in arousing his sympathies for the Zionist idea and obtained from him an introduction to von Hartwig, Director of the Asiatic Department of the Foreign Office.

When Herzl had his interview on August 9 with Count Serge Witte (1849-1915), he found him anything but amiable. He described him as "a big, ugly, clumsy, serious man, with a peculiarly flattened nose, knock-kneed, and splay-footed." Witte began by launching forth on a little discourse on anti-Semitism and its different causes. He said that the Tsar had honest anti-Jewish prejudices that were mainly of a religious character. There were also prejudices due to economic rivalry; some were anti-Semites because it was fashionable; and journalists and others were anti-Semites for business reasons. The Jews, he continued, gave cause for hostility because "they were arrogant, poor, and dirty, and therefore repulsive. They indulged in all sorts of ugly transactions, so that it was hard for friends of the Jews to defend them, as they would be accused of having been bought." "But I don't take notice of that," said the Minister, "I have the courage."

A recent factor of importance was the participation of the Jews in revolutionary movements. Although, out of a total population in Russia of one hundred thirty-six million, there were only seven million Jews,² their membership in the revolutionary parties was about 50 per cent. When Herzl inquired to what circumstance the Minister attributed this, he replied that he believed it was the fault of the Government, which oppressed them too much.

"I used to say to the late Emperor Alexander III," continued Witte, "'Your Majesty, if it were possible to drown six or seven million Jews in the Black Sea, I would be entirely in favor of it. But if it is not possible, then one must let them live.' That has remained my view. I am against further repressive measures."

Herzl asked whether the Jews could long continue to bear their desperate situation, to which Witte replied by asking: "Where is the way out?" Thereupon Herzl unfolded his arguments in support of the Zionist solution, and Witte, after gradually conceding that they were right, except that he wished that the Holy Places should not be under Jewish control, asked what Herzl wanted from the Government.

"Certain encouragements," said the Zionist leader.

"But the Jews are given some encouragements to emigrate," said the Minister. "For example, by kicks."

To this stupid and brutal remark Herzl calmly and icily retorted: "That's not the sort of encouragement about which I wish to speak. That is known." He then developed the three points of his memorandum for Plehve, and Witte finally admitted that his solution would be good, if it could

² This was an exaggeration, as, according to official statistics, the number of Jews in Russia in Europe at that time was 6,122,000. There were certainly no statistics of the racial composition of revolutionary parties, which were essentially secret organizations.

be carried out. Herzl asked him to show his support for the movement by canceling the prohibition of the sale of the shares of the Jewish Colonial Trust. Witte promised to do so, on condition that a branch of the Trust be established in Russia, so that control could be exercised over its business. Herzl readily agreed to this condition, and the interview, which had lasted an hour and a quarter, was over. As Witte accompanied him to the stairs, he shook his hand repeatedly, "which seems to be much for this vulgarian," noted Herzl in his Diary, "who is in the habit of dispatching Excellencies standing."

4

Herzl received a long and satisfactory reply from Plehve to the exposition that he had sent him, and, on August 13, he had a second interview with him, which was more favorable than the first. Plehve explained that he had to keep Herzl waiting a few days for his letter, as he wished to submit it first to the Tsar for his approval, which was given. His Majesty took the opportunity of complaining about the attacks upon him in the foreign press on account of the Jews, and was hurt that it was said that the Russian Government had taken part in organizing excesses or even tolerated them passively. He was equally well-disposed toward all his subjects, and it pained him that anything inhumane should be imputed to him. Plehve admitted that the position of the Jews was not good and that if he were a Jew he would probably also be an enemy of the Government. But, in fact, the Government could not do anything different from what it had done, and it would therefore be pleased to see the establishment of an independent Jewish State, which could receive a few million Jews.

"But we don't want to lose all our Jews," continued the

Minister. "The very intelligent—and you are the best proof that there are such—we would like to keep. But those of inferior intelligence and of scanty means, we would be glad to be rid of. We have no hostile feeling against the Jews as such, and indeed I show you that in my letter."

Herzl urged that Plehve should meanwhile do something more for the Jews who remained in Russia, by extending their right of domicile to Courland and Riga or allowing them to acquire a certain amount of land for farming. Plehve replied that he had no objection to Jews settling in the Baltic Provinces, where there were Germans and Letts. He had previously intended allowing Jews in the Pale to buy land for agriculture, but there had been stormy protests from Russians. He had taken over the Government as a friend of the Jews: he knew the Jews very well, as he had spent his youth among them in Warsaw, and he had Jewish friends. He was against granting land to individual Jews, but would be in favor of entire Jewish communities settling on the land, and they could allot private holdings to individuals. He suggested that Baron Horace de Günzberg, the banker and philanthropist, who often came to discuss Jewish affairs with him, should speak to him about it.

Herzl replied that Günzberg was old and not very bright, although a very estimable man. He would prefer that Plehve should have a talk with his confidential representative, Dr. Katzenelsohn, who was modern, educated, and respected. The Minister said that he would gladly receive him if he came with an introduction from Herzl. "The form," observed the latter, "would be that of the agricultural productive cooperative?" Plehve assented, whereupon Herzl stressed that the most important thing was to intervene with the Sultan: everything depended upon that. The Russian Consul in Constantinople, Rostkowski, had recently been

shot there, and the Russian Government were therefore in a good position to require compliance with their political demands. Herzl expressed the wish that the Tsar himself should personally intervene with the Sultan. Plehve promised to mention it to his Majesty, but he could not do it then, as the Tsar was leaving on that day. Herzl also expressed the desire to have an audience with the Tsar himself, whereupon Plehve said: "We shall see—after the Congress."

When Herzl submitted the draft constitution for the Zionist Organization in Russia, Plehve objected that the Zionists would be always having Congresses, which was forbidden to the Christians. Herzl assured him that he would tell the Zionists that they must not have Congresses. Thereupon the Minister referred to a large file on Zionism, in a gold and brown binding, and said that he had intended suppressing Zionism in Russia. He would now keep the matter in suspense, and everything would depend upon nothing indiscreet being said at the forthcoming Congress at Basle. He then took a very amiable farewell of the Zionist leader.

On returning to his hotel, Herzl wrote a letter to Plehve, again emphasizing the importance of the Tsar's intervention with the Sultan. He enclosed an open letter to Lord Rothschild, which he asked Plehve to read and then seal and forward to London. In this letter, he wrote that he had found the Russian Government favorably disposed, that he would make an important statement to the Congress that would be gratifying to Jewry, and that it would help to improve the situation if the pro-Jewish press would cease their hostile tone toward Russia. He also wrote a letter to Witte, in which he formally applied for permission to establish a branch of the Jewish Colonial Trust in Russia.

On the last day of his stay in St. Petersburg, August 15, Herzl had a talk with von Hartwig, who, besides being

Director of the Asiatic Department of the Foreign Office, was also President of the Imperial Russian Palestine Society. He again gave an exposition of the Zionist movement and informed Hartwig that Plehve had promised him in the name of the Tsar that the Russian Government would intervene with the Sultan. Thereupon Hartwig told him that the Russian Minister in Berne, von Joneu, who had not much to do, had made a study of the Zionist movement and had furnished the Foreign Office with a voluminous report. The cause appealed to the Foreign Office, but, as nobody occupied himself with it, the matter was neglected. He would like to have a report that he could hand to the Foreign Minister, and Herzl promised to let him have one in a fortnight. Hartwig said that he would then inquire of Ambassador Zinoviev, in Constantinople, as to what could be done in the matter.

But Herzl's hopes of early action in the Turkish capital were dashed to the ground when he again met General Kireyev, who came to see him at his hotel. The General told him that he could not expect any Russian intervention with the Turkish Government for the time being. Owing to the murder of the Consul Rostkowski, the Russian Fleet was now demonstrating before Constantinople, and, as Russia's demands for satisfaction had all been fulfilled, there would be no pleasant relations between the two countries for a long time.

5

It was therefore with a feeling of profound disappointment that Herzl journeyed from St. Petersburg to Vilna. He wished to see for himself the conditions of life in that citadel of orthodox Judaism and Rabbinic tradition, which Napoleon, on entering the city at the head of his Grand Army,

called "the Jerusalem of Lithuania." Some Zionist friends had tried to dissuade him from going there, on the ground that there might be a hostile demonstration against him by members of the Bund, the Jewish Socialist organization, which was bitterly opposed to Zionism. But he rejected this counsel of caution, which only sharpened his desire to become acquainted with the Jewish community of Vilna. His visit was a memorable event, both in his career as a Jewish leader and in the history of the community itself, and since he wrote a vivid account of it on the very next day, when his impressions were quite fresh, it is better to reproduce it here than to attempt a paraphrase:

17 August, in the train between Thorn and Posen.

Yesterday, the day of Vilna, will remain with me unforgettable. No florid phraseology. The arrival in the Russo-Polish city at midday was already marked by ovations. I don't like this sort of thing.

But the situation became more real, because more dangerous, when the police, who devoted the greatest attention to me from the beginning, forbade all gatherings, even my drive to the Great Synagogue. I was driven, however, through excited Jewish streets to the community's office, where the leaders and deputations awaited me. There was a tone in the greetings that moved me so deeply that it was only the thought of the reports in the press that enabled me to restrain my tears. The numerous speeches of all kinds overrated me enormously, but the wretchedness of these sorely oppressed people was genuine.

Afterward all kinds of deputations with presents came to me in the hotel, in front of which a crowd dispersed by the police gathered again repeatedly. The police also sent me a message that I must not drive about in the city.

Toward evening we drove to Werki, an hour from the city, where Jews are normally not allowed to live. There our friend Ben Jacob had rented a summer villa, which is remotely situated

in relation to transport conditions existing in the vicinity of this Russian provincial town. He had invited here about fifty guests. Ghetto with good Ghetto speeches. But the dinner served up was splendid. They wanted to be nice to me and do everything that they could. And the host, among the many toasts of the others, delivered a fine impressive speech of real old Jewish dignity. He said: "We are here today all happy, but the happiest is myself because I have this guest under my roof."

But he was surpassed by the guests at the fence, who suddenly appeared outside in the night in front of the veranda behung with curtains: poor youths and girls from Vilna, who had tramped all the way on foot (a journey of about two hours) to see me at dinner. There they stood outside, looking on as we ate and listening to the speeches. And they provided the dinner music by singing Hebrew songs. Ben Jacob, the genuine kind-hearted host, was good enough to feed these uninvited guests. One of the young workmen in a blue blouse, who struck me because of his hard determined features, so that I took him for one of the revolutionary "Bundists," surprised me by drinking a toast to the time when "*Hamelech*³ Herzl" would reign. But this ridiculous outburst produced a remarkable impression in the dark Russian night.

We drove back; and at one o'clock at night from the hotel to the station. The town was awake, because they awaited my departure. In the streets through which we had to pass they stood and walked and called out "*Hedad*"⁴ when they recognized me. The same also from the balconies. But in the vicinity of the railway station, where the crowd became denser, there were unfortunately clashes with the police, who had instructions to keep the station clear. It was a regular Russian police maneuver, which I was shocked to see, while my carriage rushed on faster to the station. Cries of "*Hedad*," brutal shouts of the policemen, who threw themselves at intervals against the running crowd;

³ "The King."

⁴ "Bravo!"

and my driver lashed out at the horses. At the station entrance, which was cordoned off, stood three police officers. The eldest, white-bearded, greeted me with marked politeness.

A little group, about fifty to sixty of my friends, had nevertheless succeeded in smuggling themselves into the station. I stood speaking to them quietly, when a police officer, followed by a sergeant, strode through the restaurant with clinking spurs. He stationed himself behind us at a table looking on. When I took my hat off to my friends, he also greeted respectfully. Was this due to an order from St. Petersburg to protect me, or to the officers' secret fear of the crowd?

Early in the morning at Eydtkuhnen I was awaited by a group of Zionists from the Russian frontier town. Another speech and a bouquet.

That was Russia.

The tremendous enthusiasm aroused among the Jews of Vilna by Herzl's visit is vividly reflected in an account by an eye-witness, Boris Goldberg,⁵ one of the Zionist leaders of the community, who provides some interesting details of the official reception and also of the midnight scene at the station. It was in a small, stuffy, dingy chamber—symbolic of the Ghetto itself—that the ceremonial welcome took place. The senior warden, Aryeh Naischul, greeted Herzl in a voice quivering with emotion and tendered him a Hebrew address inscribed on parchment; the historian, Wolf Jawitz, presented him with a Scroll of the Torah; and the senior Rabbi, the venerable Reb Schleimele (Rabbi Solomon ha-Kohen), with trembling and almost transparent palms outstretched, pronounced the priestly blessing. After each speech, Herzl, in awed silence, expressed his thanks in measured and moving words that thrilled his hearers and inspired them with hope and comfort for the future.

⁵ Article in *Die Welt*, May 20, 1910.

The behavior of the Russian police, in driving the crowd away with their *nagaikas* and suppressing any kind of enthusiastic demonstration, was typical of the time and the country. They were easily outwitted, however, by the Zionists, who were determined to enter the station to see their leader off, despite the order that none but those with luggage should be admitted; for over fifty of them sped home, returned with hand-baggage, and were thus qualified to go on the platform. Thus was Muscovite bureaucratic caprice satisfied and Herzl was given a moving farewell. If his mission to Russia did not yield any political success, he left the country richer by a spiritual experience.

XVI

The East Africa Offer

THE MOST IMPORTANT EVENT THAT OCCURRED DURING HERZL'S visit to Russia was in no way connected with the purpose that had impelled him to go there. It was his receipt of an offer from the British Government of territory in the East Africa Protectorate for the establishment of a Jewish settlement. It reached him at his hotel in Vilna, in the form of a letter from the Foreign Office, transmitted by his confidential representative in London, Leopold J. Greenberg. The letter was the outcome of negotiations that were begun by Herzl in his interview with the Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, on October 22, 1902, and resumed by him in a subsequent conversation on April 24, 1903, when Chamberlain first suggested East Africa as a suitable region for a Jewish settlement. Before leaving London, Herzl had entrusted Greenberg with the further conduct of the negotiations, and, after it became clear that the Sinai Peninsula project could not be realized, Chamberlain repeated the suggestion to Greenberg. The latter informed Herzl, who wired back that he should ascertain full details. Thereupon Greenberg entered into correspondence with Chamberlain and kept Herzl, under whose instructions he acted, informed of every stage. At Greenberg's suggestion, Herzl requested him to write to Chamberlain that he was willing to send out a Commission of Inquiry to East Africa, but that before doing so he would like to know whether the British Govern-

ment would be prepared to consider a draft agreement that he would submit.

Chamberlain replied (on June 11) that Herzl could send a draft agreement, but that the decision would depend upon the Foreign Office and he was "quite willing to do his best to secure their consideration." Accordingly, Greenberg engaged as the lawyer to draft the agreement a man who was destined later to play a dominant part in Zionist history—David Lloyd George, of the London firm of Lloyd George, Roberts and Company.¹ As the agreement could not be concluded with Herzl, who was not a British subject, the contracting party was the Jewish Colonial Trust, which was an English registered company. After protracted discussion, Greenberg, on July 13, submitted the draft to Chamberlain, who passed it on to the Foreign Office for consideration by the Secretary, Lord Lansdowne, and his legal experts. A few weeks later, on August 6, Greenberg called at the Foreign Office and discussed certain points with two high officials, Sir Eric Barrington and C. J. B. Hurst; and after Lord Lansdowne had approved the amended draft he gave instructions for a letter embodying the offer of territory to be sent to Greenberg in time to reach him before the Congress. It was this letter, signed by Sir Clement Hill, Chief of the Protectorate Department of the Foreign Office, that reached Herzl in Vilna.

It stated that Lord Lansdowne would be happy to give every facility to the Commission of Inquiry that would be sent out to the East Africa Protectorate to discuss with His Majesty's Commission "the possibility of meeting the view which may be expressed at the forthcoming Zionist Congress

¹See Oskar K. Rabinowicz, "New Light on the East Africa Scheme," in *The Rebirth of Israel*, edited by Israel Cohen.

in regard to the conditions upon which a settlement might be possible." It then continued:

If a site can be found which the Trust and His Majesty's Commissioner consider suitable and which commends itself to His Majesty's Government, Lord Lansdowne will be prepared to entertain favourably proposals for the establishment of a Jewish colony or settlement, on conditions which will enable the members to observe their National customs. For this purpose he would be prepared to discuss (if a suitable site had been found and subject to the views of the advisers of the Secretary of State in East Africa) the details of a scheme comprising as its main features: the grant of a considerable area of land, the appointment of a Jewish Official as chief of the local administration, and permission to the Colony to have a free hand in regard to municipal legislation and as to the management of religious and purely domestic matters, such local autonomy being conditional upon the right of His Majesty's Government to exercise a general control.

It was with this important letter in his pocket that Herzl returned from Russia to Austria and went straight on to Alt Aussee to spend a day with his family before going to Basle for the Sixth Zionist Congress. From Alt Aussee, he wrote to Bacher that he would submit to the Congress a document of the highest political importance, of which the *Neue Freie Presse* should not fail to publish a report. Neither the movement nor he himself needed this publication, but the paper needed it. He left for Basle, accompanied by his mother for the first time. He regretted that he had never taken his father to a Congress, and he little dreamed that the Congress to which he was taking his mother was the last that he himself would attend. In the train, he was surprised to meet Prince Philipp Eulenburg, the German Ambassador in Vienna, and seized the opportunity to inform

him of the results of his visit to Russia, which he wished him to communicate to the Kaiser, but not to Bülow.

2

On arriving at Basle, he suffered from heart palpitations, owing to fatigue, which prompted him to write in his Diary: "If I did this for thanks I should be a great fool." On Friday, August 21, he delivered a report to the "Great Actions Committee," on his mission to Russia and the offer from the British Government, and was disappointed and annoyed at the reception with which he met. "The thought did not occur to any of them even for a second that a word or even a smile of thanks was due to me for the greatest of my achievements so far." On the contrary, he had to listen to reproaches from three leading representatives from Russia, Dr. Victor Jacobson, Dr. Jechiel Tschlenow, and Professor Grigori Belkowsky, because he had parleyed with the Minister, who was regarded as responsible for the Kishineff massacre. As for the British offer, Herzl's personal friends, Alexander Marmorek and Dr. Bodenheimer, were opposed to it on the ground that it was incompatible with the Basle Program.

After the Sabbath morning service, which Herzl attended in the Basle Synagogue, he invited a number of leading Zionists to a private meeting in Joseph Cowen's room at the Hotel Drei Könige to secure their support for the British offer, but the discussion merely ended with the decision that it should be laid before the Congress. There was a further meeting of the "Great Actions Committee" in the evening, at which far more time was spent in speeches on the Kishineff pogrom and Plehve's letter than on the East Africa project.

The Sixth Congress, which opened on Sunday morning,

August 23, and lasted six days, was attended by nearly six hundred delegates. This was a larger number than on any previous occasion and indicated the remarkable growth that the movement had undergone. The most numerous representation was from Russia, which was naturally due to its containing at that time nearly one-half of the total Jewish population in the world. Delegates had traveled from places as remote as Tashkent and Siberia, and the most picturesque figures were two Jews from the Caucasus Mountains in their native belted costume, with black astrakhan hat, top-boots, cartridge-pouches, and gun. Since the last Congress, the number of Zionist societies in Russia had risen from 1,146 to 1,572, and there had also been increases in other parts of the world. Further concrete evidence of the progress of the movement consisted of the fact that the Jewish Colonial Trust had already yielded an interest of six thousand pounds, that an offshoot of the bank, with a capital of fifty thousand pounds, had been established in Jaffa under the name of the Anglo-Palestine Company,² and the Jewish National Fund had raised nearly twenty thousand pounds for the purchase of land in Palestine.

The all-dominating question at the Congress was the British offer. Before dealing with this in his inaugural address, Herzl touched on the policy of Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe, which had been pursued for the past twenty years, and emphasized its failure, as shown by the Alien Immigration Commission in England. He admitted the negative result of his two visits to Constantinople since the last Congress, and said that it was on that account that he had entered into contact with members of the British Cabinet

² The Anglo-Palestine Company was afterward called the Anglo-Palestine Bank, which ultimately developed into the Bank Leumi le-Israel (with eighty branches in Israel and offices in London, Zurich and New York).

and proposed a settlement in the Sinai Peninsula. He related in detail the appointment of the Expedition of Inquiry, the outcome of its investigations, and the disappointing decision of the Egyptian Government. The British Government had now offered him another territory for a Jewish settlement. It did not possess the historical, religious, poetic, or Zionist attraction of the Sinai Peninsula, but he did not doubt that the Congress, as the representative of the Jewish masses, would accept this offer with the warmest gratitude. The proposal signified, he declared amid loud applause, an autonomous Jewish settlement in East Africa, with a Jewish administration and local government, headed by a Jewish high official, under supreme British control. While submitting the offer to the Congress for consideration, Herzl solemnly affirmed that the Jewish people could not have any other goal but Palestine, and that, although their views about the land of their fathers remained immutable, the Congress would appreciate the extraordinary progress made by their movement, as evidenced by these negotiations with the British Government. He went on to add:

"I may say that our views regarding Palestine have been expressed to the members of the British Cabinet frankly and fully, and also explained to the high Government officials concerned in this matter. I believe that the Congress will find means to make use of this offer. It was conveyed to us in a manner that must contribute to improve and alleviate the position of the Jewish people, without our surrendering any of the great principles upon which our movement is founded." A storm of applause followed the last sentence.

Herzl refrained from giving any details regarding the territory, the exact situation of which had yet to be determined, and suggested that the most convenient procedure for the Congress to follow was to appoint a special committee

to study the offer and to submit a resolution for adoption. "Whatever may be decided," he continued, "I can say with satisfaction that all of us in our hearts feel nothing but the deepest sentiment of gratitude for the statesmanlike goodwill that Great Britain in these negotiations has manifested toward the Jewish people." Again there was an outburst of prolonged cheering both on the floor of the hall and in the galleries, hats and handkerchiefs were waved repeatedly, and the delegates rose to acclaim their leader. "This is certainly not Zion, nor can it ever be," he declared, anticipating the main objection that he was often to hear in the subsequent discussion. "It is only an emergency colonization, but, be it carefully noted, on a national and State-like basis. We cannot and shall not in consequence give our masses the signal to set out on the march. It is and remains an emergency measure, which shall improve upon the present lack of policy of all philanthropic organizations and prevent the loss of dispersed sections of our people."

In the concluding part of his address, Herzl spoke of his visit to Russia, "rendered necessary by the well-known events." He reported on the assurances that he had received from the Government that it would not place any obstacle in the way of the Zionist movement if it continued to maintain, as hitherto, a quiet and legal character, and also that it would shortly consider measures for ameliorating the sad position of the Jews in Russia. The Government, he further announced, was prepared to cooperate in covering the costs of emigration under Zionist direction. Finally—and upon this he laid the greatest stress—Russia had promised to use her influence in obtaining Palestine from Turkey, a promise that signified a diplomatic success that could not be estimated too highly. They could therefore continue their

efforts for the Land of Israel with greater courage and brighter prospects than ever before.

3

Although every mention of the magnanimity of Great Britain and her recognition of the Zionist Organization as a body capable of establishing a self-governing settlement aroused salvos of applause, it was not long before it became clear that there was considerable and deeply felt opposition, on principle, to a settlement outside Palestine. Herzl found his most powerful supporter in Max Nordau, who, although personally not in favor of the British offer, because it had no relation to Zionism, nevertheless agreed to urge that it should be given careful consideration on political grounds. Even before the debate on the question was opened, Nordau expressed his views, in advance, in the course of his masterly and eloquent survey of the political situation of Jewry, which formed an outstanding feature of the preliminary part of every Zionist congress. He said that before they reached their definite goal of a Jewish settlement in Palestine, they needed a halfway house for the benefit of the hundreds of thousands of their brethren, whether Zionists or not, who wandered from continent to continent and ran the risk of perishing if they were not rescued. For these hundreds of thousands, before they could offer them a permanent habitation, they must open up something like a *Nachtsyl*—a night-shelter—a statement that evoked a volley of applause. As such a “night-shelter” he would regard the colony for which the British Government was prepared to offer them land under certain conditions:

It would be a night-shelter that would not only afford its inhabitants temporary shelter and food but that would also be

a political and historical means of education, which would accustom the Jews and the world to the idea that has become strange to them for thousands of years and repugnant to many—that we Jews are a people, a people able, willing, and prepared to fulfill all the tasks of a civilized and independent people.

Again there burst forth a tornado of prolonged applause.

Other delegates also spoke in favor of examining the British offer, though none with such eloquence, such power, and such cogency. They were mainly from Western countries, like Cyrus Sulzberger, of New York, who foretold that the time would come when the United States would follow the example of Great Britain in planning legislation for restricting alien immigration. Another was Dr. Nachman Syrkin (1868–1924), a native of Russia and a founder of Zionist Socialism, who welcomed the British offer as a recognition by a leading government that the Jews were a nation and the Zionists were capable of founding a State.³ That, he pointed out, was a new idea in the Zionist movement. Among the few delegates from Russia who spoke in support was one from Kishineff, named Chazan, a rather uncouth figure, with a reddish bushy beard and unkempt hair, who held the Congress spellbound by his homely Yiddish eloquence, in which there was a note of sorrow. Two years later, he fell a victim to a pogrom. For hour after hour, the debate continued (on August 25 there was an uninterrupted session from five in the afternoon until after midnight), in various languages and in a tense atmosphere, not on the question

³ Syrkin had a rather stormy career. In 1897, he left Russia for Berlin, where he took part in Socialist activities; in 1901, he visited London, where he published several pamphlets; and he returned to Berlin, from where he was expelled. After living in Paris for a time, he returned to Russia, in 1905, to take part in the revolutionary struggle, and, as the Government would not let him stand as a candidate for the Duma because of his Socialist activities, he settled in 1907 in the United States.

whether the offer should be accepted, but whether an expedition should be sent to investigate the territory and submit a report for consideration by the next Congress.

The most vehement opposition came from delegates from Russia, who, although in more urgent need of a new home than their brethren from the West, would not be placated with any substitute for Zion. They had fully debated the question at a private meeting of their own, at which they adopted a resolution by a large majority to thank the British Government for its offer but to decline to consider East Africa, as the objective of Zionism was a home only in Palestine. All the arguments that were used in that debate were again advanced in the Congress by their leading spokesmen—Tschlenow, Victor Jacobson, Bernstein-Kohan, Shmarya Levin, and others⁴—that the offer was quite incompatible with the Basle Program and suitable only for a philanthropic organization, that it would be wrong for Zionists to dissipate any energies on it, and that, even if the territory were found fit for settlement, it would be years before it was developed, and that it would afford accommodation for only a fraction of the Jews of Eastern Europe.

The debate was wound up by Nordau in a long speech, in which he indignantly repudiated the idea that Zion was abandoned. He replied to all the objections that had been raised with all the rhetorical skill at his command; he again argued that the proposed settlement would be only a sort of "night-shelter," in which they would learn to develop the

⁴ Dr. Chaim Weizmann, who also took part in the debate, devoted his speech primarily to expressing approval of the Sinai Peninsula project, but, in his reference to the East Africa scheme, said that he adopted "a positive attitude." Despite this, he voted against the resolution to send a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the territory, and a few days later agreed to serve on the "Committee for the study of the East Africa expedition." Subsequently he became a strong opponent of the scheme.

political independence that they would afterward exercise in Palestine; and he succeeded in winning over not only many a fence-sitter but also some opponents. Finally, Leopold Greenberg gave an account of his negotiations with Joseph Chamberlain and said that the proposed appointment of an Expedition of Inquiry would not bind them in any way. The territory that Chamberlain thought would be suitable lay between Nairobi and the Mau Escarpment, was about two to three hundred square miles in area, and was situated near the railway that ran direct from Mombasa. Greenberg declared that he was a strong Palestinian, and had he "not all along been convinced that the negotiations with the British Government and the British proposal were a long step toward the goal of our nation, toward Palestine," he would have asked their chief to relieve him of the task with which he had been honored. He bade them remember that the way to Palestine need not necessarily be only the geographical way: the political road must never be lost sight of. He concluded by reading the text of Sir Clement Hill's letter of August 14, conveying the offer of the British Government. After his English speech had been translated into German and French, the Congress adjourned for an hour.

4

When the delegates reassembled in the afternoon for the purpose of voting, Herzl impressed upon them the gravity of the issue upon which they had to decide. He said that the only way in which they could show their gratitude to Great Britain for her magnanimous offer was by sending out an expedition to investigate the suitability of the land, and then read out the resolution that had been formulated by the "Great Actions Committee." This stated that a com-

mission of nine members should be appointed, to advise the "Smaller Actions Committee" (Executive) on the dispatch of the expedition to the regions to be examined; that the costs should not be taken from the Jewish Colonial Trust, nor from the Anglo-Palestine Company or the Jewish National Fund; and that the decision on the settlement of East Africa should be reserved for a Congress to be specially convened for that purpose. The voting was by roll call, and as the secretary called out the name of each delegate, he responded with either "*Ja*" or "*Nein*," and a corresponding card was placed into one of the two marked baskets which lay on the President's table. Thus arose the terms *Ja-Sager* ("Yes sayers") and *Nein-Sager* ("No sayers"), which enriched the Zionist vocabulary. The result was that two hundred ninety-five were in favor of the resolution and one hundred seventy-eight against, while the number who abstained was ninety-nine (including Nahum Sokolow and Dr. Charles Dreyfus), apart from thirty-two members of the "Great Actions Committee" who had previously voted in their private meeting.

The scene that followed the announcement was one that I can never forget.⁵ Amid a tumult of cheers and groans, the Russian members of the "Great Actions Committee," headed by the burly black-bearded figure of Vladimir Tiomkin, descended from the platform into the middle of the hall, where they were joined by the mass of the Russian delegates, and all marched into an adjoining hall. There they gave vent to indignation and grief without restraint. Many fell on one another's necks and wept; one at least, a young student, fainted; and all presented the most doleful and mournful looks, as though Zion had been abandoned forever. Herzl

⁵ The author was present at the Zionist Congress of 1903 as a press correspondent and had several conversations with Herzl.

went and begged them to return, but they shouted back a defiant "*Nein!*" A little later, however, after tempers had somewhat cooled, the Russian delegates allowed him to address them (while refusing admittance to Israel Zangwill), though they listened to him in stony silence.⁶ He spoke to them calmly, recalled his repeated efforts in Constantinople, whose failure was due to the paltry financial support he could get, expressed his disappointment at the collapse of the El Arish project, and appealed to them to appreciate the political significance of the British offer. He assured them that he remained loyal to the Basle Program, declared that he needed their confidence if he was to continue their leader, and concluded that he was always prepared to go if he was not wanted. The result was that he won them over, and on the following morning they returned to their places in the Congress hall, with faces more sternly set than before.

The question of East Africa was by no means the only one that engaged the attention of the Congress. There were other subjects of a less controversial nature. A detailed exposition of an agricultural cooperative settlement was delivered by an economist, Dr. Franz Oppenheimer, whom Herzl, amid much applause, introduced as a new adherent of the Jewish national cause. An address on "Zionism and Philanthropic Organizations" was given by Israel Zangwill, who subjected the Jewish Colonization Association and its policy to his withering and witty criticism. Sir Francis Montefiore spoke at length on organization and propaganda, and Nahum Sokolow spoke at greater length on "Charity and Zionism in Eastern Europe." But all these and other matters were greatly outweighed in importance by the British offer, which was to occupy the mind and disturb the peace of Herzl for

⁶A record of this private meeting was written down by Vladimir Jabotinsky (who was present) and published in *Die Welt*, July 3, 1914.

many months to come. During a considerable part of the debates, he acted as Chairman, and such were the tempestuous feelings that often found expression that he had to call for silence by a redoubled knocking with his gavel, and his repeated admonition, "*Ich bitte um Ruhe!*" uttered in his soft but resonant voice, still echoes in my memory after the passage of years.

In his closing speech at the end of the Congress, he again referred to the British offer, reaffirmed his unwavering loyalty to the Basle Program, and, as though to banish any lingering doubt among the delegates, gave added emphasis to his statement by raising his right hand and uttering in Hebrew the declaration of the Psalmist: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its cunning!" There followed an outburst of deafening applause.

When the Congress was over and Herzl had returned to his hotel exhausted, he went into Cowen's room, where, in the presence also of Zangwill and Nordau, and seated "around a bottle of mineral water," he said to them:

I shall now tell you my speech for the Seventh Congress—if I live until then. By that time, I shall either have Palestine or have realized the utter hopelessness of every further effort. In the latter case my speech will be as follows:

It was not possible. Our goal has not been reached and cannot be reached within any foreseeable time. But there is an intermediate result: this land in which we can settle our suffering masses on a national basis with self-government. I do not think that, for the sake of a beautiful dream or a legitimate flag, we dare withhold this alleviation from the unfortunate. But I understand that a decisive split has thus occurred in our movement, and this rent goes right through my person. Although originally only for a Jewish State—*n'importe où*—I nevertheless later bore aloft the Zionist flag and became myself a Lover of

Zion. Palestine is the only country where our people can find rest. But immediate help is necessary for hundreds of thousands.

To heal this schism there is only one thing: I must retire from the leadership. If you wish it, I shall still preside over the deliberations of this Congress, and at the end you can elect two Action Committees, one for East Africa and one for Palestine. I decline to be elected on either. But I shall never withhold my advice from those who devote themselves to the work, if they request it. And I shall accompany those who indulge in the beautiful dream with my wishes.

By what I have done I have not made Zionism poorer, but made Judaism richer.

Adieu.

5

From Basle, Herzl went to the Isle of Mainau to see the Grand Duke of Baden, upon whose intervention with the German Emperor he continued to lay great weight. As they strolled about in the garden surrounding the castle, discussing the latest Zionist developments, the Grand Duke agreed to send Herzl's Congress speech and the letter from Plehve to the State Secretary, Baron Richthofen, who could officially report on the situation to the Kaiser. The Zionist leader then went to Alt Aussee, where he was ill for a week from exhaustion, and as soon as he recovered, he plunged into a spate of correspondence with political personages in St. Petersburg and Vienna, in London, Paris, and Constantinople, with a view to securing a favorable decision from the Sultan in regard to Palestine.

On September 5, he wrote a long letter to Plehve, describing the outcome of the Congress. He explained that the opposition to the East Africa project consisted almost entirely of delegates from Russia and that the Zionists from that country who supported him did so largely because of

their personal devotion to him. However, the land offered appeared to be of less value than it was originally thought to possess, as the London *Times* had published a letter from Sir Harry Johnston, a former Consul-General for the Uganda Protectorate and an authority on tropical Africa, who stated that only 20 per cent of the proposed territory could be used for settlement by whites. Since it could provide accommodation only for some tens of thousands of families, as well as for other reasons, Herzl wrote that he felt obliged to oppose the project. The Congress showed that emigration of the Jews from Russia "without return" could be directed to no other country but Palestine, and that was why supreme importance attached to the Russian Government's promise contained in Plehve's letter of August 12. Personal and direct intervention by the Tsar with the Sultan would probably have a decisive effect. Herzl therefore suggested that the Tsar should give him a letter recommending the aim of Zionism, which he would take immediately to the Sultan. He believed that friendly support would be accorded by Britain, France, and Germany, and that, if there were only prompt action by the Tsar, emigration could begin in a few months. He also wrote a letter to Hartwig, director of the First Department of the Russian Foreign Office, suggesting that he should write to the Russian Ambassador in Constantinople, in accordance with the promise contained in Plehve's letter, and likewise to General Kireyev, informing him of his letter to Hartwig and asking him "to put in a good word."

As the Kaiser was at that time expected, together with the Imperial Chancellor, in Vienna, Herzl wrote to Prince Philipp Eulenburg, the German Ambassador in the Austrian capital, urging him to induce his august master to intervene in Constantinople, and pointing out that, if only the Kaiser

could get the Triple Alliance to support the Palestinian project, the Zionist goal would be near to achievement. He repeated this idea in a letter to the Grand Duke of Baden. He next wrote (on September 13) to the Austrian Prime Minister, Koerber, to whom he sent a copy of Plehve's letter, stating that it was time that the Zionist question was brought officially to the notice of his Government. He accordingly asked Koerber to acquaint his Foreign Minister, Count Goluchowski, with his desire, and pointed out that Austria's intervention at the Sublime Porte would in no way affect her foreign interests and that it could contribute to the solution of one of her domestic problems (by the emigration of Jews).

While doggedly endeavoring to invoke the cooperation of the leading European Powers to win the Sultan over for a settlement in Palestine, Herzl was seriously worried over the East Africa offer. At Basle, he had received a message of congratulations from Lord Rothschild when the offer became known, and on writing from Alt Aussee to thank him for it, Herzl expressed a wish to publish it as a counterblast to the hostile letters that had appeared in the *London Times*. For the opposition that had been manifested at the Congress was now supplemented by strong objections from leading British settlers in East Africa. Lord Delamere, a pioneer of colonization in that region, complained that it would be unjust to British taxpayers if land near the Uganda road, built with British money, were offered to foreigners, and his views were backed up by Lord Hindlip, who had just returned to London from East Africa. A further antagonist was the well-known publicist, Lucien Wolf, whose letter in *The Times* contained the usual arguments of the anti-Zionists against any Jewish settlement on a political foundation. The result of all this opposition was that the

British Government appeared to become rather lukewarm. Lord Lansdowne told Greenberg, who had been instructed by Herzl to press for a charter, to advise his chief to send a representative to Sir Charles Eliot, the Commissioner for the British East Africa Protectorate, to ascertain his views. Herzl replied that he would prefer to go back to the Sinai Peninsula scheme rather than consider East Africa, whereupon both Greenberg and Colonel Goldsmid wrote to him that Lord Cromer absolutely refused to reconsider the question of the Sinai Peninsula and that his indecision between the two plans would make an unfavorable impression upon the British Government. An inquiry that he had addressed to the Jewish Colonization Association, to ascertain whether they would contribute to the costs of the expedition to East Africa, brought a negative reply on the ground that the project was of a political character.

6

Meanwhile, the most determined opposition was developing among the Zionists in Russia. The principal and most energetic combatant was Menahem Ussishkin (1863-1941), a leading member of the Odessa Committee of the *Hovevei Zion* and a domineering personality, who was absent from the Sixth Congress, as he had gone to Palestine to buy land for the *Geulah* Society. He seized the opportunity of his visit to convene at Zichron Jacob a gathering of seventy delegates from all parts of the country, which was given the grandiose title of "Jewish Congress" and was intended to meet every year; but it did not meet again. Better fortune favored the conference of sixty teachers of Jewish schools, whom he also assembled at Zichron Jacob at the same time, as they formed a union that remained permanent. A tele-

gram of fraternal greeting was sent from the "Jewish Congress" to the Congress at Basle, and Herzl replied in terms plainly suggesting that the delegates at Zichron Jacob should exchange their isolation for affiliation to the Zionist Organization. As soon as Ussishkin returned to Odessa, on October 4, he expressed his views on the situation in Palestine in an optimistic interview, which was published in *Die Welt*. Had he contented himself with that utterance alone, Herzl would not have been driven into a state of embitterment, although he very strongly disapproved of the piecemeal purchase of land in Palestine without any sort of political guarantee. But Ussishkin launched a vehement campaign against East Africa.

Without previously informing Herzl of his intentions, Ussishkin published an "open letter" in the Zionist press, which he addressed "to the delegates at the Sixth Zionist Congress." In it he declared that he accepted election on the "Great Actions Committee," but he did not regard the resolution for the dispatch of a commission to East Africa as binding upon him, as he considered it a deviation from the Basle Program, and he would do everything possible to prevent it from being carried out. This rebellious pronouncement reached Herzl while he was still at Alt Aussee, where his wife was seriously ill. His mood of personal anxiety, combined with his resentment at the challenge to his authority, provoked him to a strong rejoinder, which he published, together with Ussishkin's letter, in the same issue of *Die Welt* (October 30). He censured Ussishkin for his breach of discipline in declaring war upon a Congress resolution, accused him of imperiling the position of the Jews in Palestine by the Congress he had convened, and criticized his method of buying land. After leaving Alt Aussee for Edlach, he intended publishing "A Letter to the Jewish

People," with a view to reconciling his opponents, but immediately dropped the idea on hearing of the conference that had been held at Kharkov (in October).

This conference, which had been convened by Ussishkin, Bernstein-Kohan, Tiomkin, and Victor Jacobson, adopted an ultimatum that was to be delivered to the leader, demanding that he should alter his method of administration and completely abandon the East Africa project. It required that he should give up his authoritarian way of handling affairs, that he should submit every serious question to the "Great Actions Committee" a month before it met, and that the Vienna Executive should be responsible not to the Congress but to the "Great Actions Committee." The ultimatum also demanded from Herzl a promise in writing that he would entirely give up the East Africa project and that he would not submit to the Congress any project other than one relating to Palestine or Syria. The conference decided that it would carry on propaganda all over the world in support of its opposition, and that, if Herzl rejected the ultimatum, the shekel (annual membership contribution) should no longer be sent to Vienna but retained in Russia. Its decisions were by no means unanimous, as Professor Mandelstamm, Dr. Jasinowski, and others voted against them. But as soon as they became known, there was an outburst of protests from the followers of Herzl, both in Russia and in other parts of the world, who accused Ussishkin and his comrades of treason to the movement, disloyalty to a Congress resolution, and ingratitude to their leader. The conflict grew in vehemence and found reverberations in all Zionist societies and all Jewish papers throughout the world.

7

Undeterred by this turmoil, Herzl continued to press for Russian intervention in Constantinople and, at the same time, pursued his negotiations with the British Foreign Office through Greenberg. He received a letter from Plehve (on October 24), inquiring what had been the attitude of the Russian delegates at the Congress, to which he replied that it had been unexceptionable. He took the opportunity of suggesting that Plehve should invite him to St. Petersburg and present him to the Tsar, and stated that after this audience, of which the Sultan should be notified, he would go to Constantinople to negotiate. At last his efforts appeared to be meeting with some success, for on December 5 he received a letter from Madame von Korwin-Piatrowska, stating that Plehve had requested her to inform Herzl that the Russian Ambassador in Constantinople would intervene in the Zionist cause in a few days. But Herzl was not satisfied. He wrote again to Plehve to thank him for the instructions that had been sent to the Ambassador, but expressed the view that the latter's action would remain unknown and would simply be added to the archives of the Sublime Porte, "to join documents of other fruitless interventions." The only effective way in which anything could be achieved, he maintained, would be for the Tsar to send a letter to the Sultan or to grant Herzl an audience, of which a report should be published.

On the following day (December 12), he wrote to Izzet Bey, reminding him of the proposal that Herzl had made in his letter of February 16, 1903, to the Sultan and the Grand Vizier. He was glad to inform him that, with the help of friends, he had succeeded in removing the difficulties in the

sphere of foreign relations that had prevented the Ottoman Government from considering his proposal, which he now repeated—to create a new source of finance for the Ottoman treasury that could form the basis of a loan. He mentioned that a land had been offered them by the British Government, but the Jews preferred to return to the home of their ancestors.

Thinking that the Sultan might still hesitate, even if the Russian Ambassador approached him, Herzl wrote to the Grand Duke of Baden (on December 14), urging that the German Ambassador (von Marschall) should add his influence by taking action simultaneously. He also wrote to the Austrian Foreign Minister, Count Goluchowski, for an interview, with a view to securing his cooperation; and as he happened to meet the Turkish Military Attaché, General Shükri Pasha, the son of the Turkish War Minister, he asked him to inform his father that no opposition need now be feared from Russia to a Jewish settlement in Palestine. Herzl was now more optimistic than ever before as regards the outlook in Constantinople, as, in addition to the definite promise from Russia and the expected support of France, Britain, Germany, and Austria, he was informed by Dr. Margulies, the Chief Rabbi of Florence, that the King of Italy would be glad to see him whenever he wished. He therefore wrote (on December 26) to Zinoviev, the Russian Privy Councillor in Constantinople, to inquire whether he had made the agreed *démarche* at the Sublime Porte, and, if so, with what result.

He also wrote to Plehve (on December 27), to thank him for having received Dr. Katzenelsohn; gave the names of seven leading Zionists in Russia who would form the board for the proposed Russian branch of the Jewish Colonial Trust (which was to organize emigration); and explained that

he had not yet gone to Constantinople because he had not received an invitation from there. He concluded by mentioning that he had heard a rumor that there would be a fresh massacre at Kishineff on the Russian Christmas. He regarded this as "an abominable invention," but he thought it his duty to warn Plehve of it. After all his indefatigable endeavors to secure a successful result in the Ottoman capital, his disappointment was all the more painful when he heard from a confidential representative that the Russian Ambassador had not done anything and had said that it would not be easy to do anything. He thereupon wrote again (on January 4, 1904) to Plehve, stressing how right he had been in the view that he had previously expressed, that the only action in regard to the Sublime Porte that could have a prospect of success was one of an extraordinary character.

8

Throughout the months of anxious thought and diplomatic effort that Herzl devoted to obtaining the united intervention of leading European Powers in Constantinople, he continued in constant communication with Greenberg, his representative in London. The zeal and energy that he displayed in trying to secure the goodwill of the Sultan could leave no doubt about his loyalty to the Basle Program and his attachment to Palestine, but, at the same time, he wished to derive whatever political benefit he could from continued relations with the British Government. When Greenberg was in Vienna on December 5, 1903, he confirmed that the region in East Africa originally proposed did not contain as much suitable land as had been previously believed, and that Sir Clement Hill now proposed the Tanaland district, which was large enough but unsuitable for white settlement.

Herzl and his colleagues on the Executive had the feeling that the British Government wanted to withdraw the East Africa offer. They therefore instructed Greenberg to repeat the suggestion made to him in October—to ask for El Arish again, and, if the Government refused, to ask for more suitable territory in East Africa. Shortly after Greenberg was back in London, he wrote to Herzl, advising him to write a letter to Sir Francis Montefiore (who was President of the English Zionist Federation), announcing that he had abandoned the East Africa project, and suggesting that the letter be published. Herzl declined to write such a letter: he maintained that the Foreign Office should either withdraw its offer or substitute some other territory.

Suddenly, a sensational incident occurred in Paris, on December 19, that showed to what extreme violence passions had been aroused by the controversy about East Africa. At a *Hanukkah*⁷ ball held by a Zionist society, a Russian Jewish student, Chaim Louban, who was mentally unbalanced, pulled out a revolver and fired two shots at Dr. Nordau with the cry: "Death to Nordau, the East African!" Fortunately, both bullets missed their intended victim, though one of them hurt an onlooker. Nordau remained outwardly calm and unmoved, but he gave expression to his indignation in a letter to Herzl, in which he wrote that he had now been repaid in part for his services to the Jewish people. His selection as a scapegoat in the bitter dispute was all the more tragically ironical, as he had never been in favor of the British offer: at the Congress, he had advocated the sending of a Commission of Inquiry solely because Herzl had begged him to do so, and, in recent weeks, he had joined with other leading Zionists in urging him to drop the idea. The attempt

⁷ "Feast of Dedication," in commemoration of the victory of the Maccabees over Antiochus of Syria.

on Nordau's life naturally aroused widespread consternation and gave further impetus to the controversy. A leading article in *Die Welt* said that, although the revolver had been fired by a demented individual, those who were morally responsible must be sought elsewhere. The wordy battle raged throughout the Zionist press, and the organizers of the Kharkov conference and their supporters were stigmatized by the "Yes sayers" as "conspirators" and "destroyers of unity," and were called upon to resign.

Unable any longer to resist the increasing pressure to which he had been subjected, Herzl, after an exchange of letters and telegrams with Greenberg, decided upon a way out. He published in *Die Welt* (on December 25), not the proposed letter to Montefiore, but a speech delivered by Greenberg containing the gist of the letter, as the speaker's own view, advising the abandonment of the project. At the same time, Herzl sent out a confidential circular (on December 27) to all members of the "Great Actions Committee," notifying them that the British offer was no longer under consideration. His perplexity and his difficulty in coming to a decision are revealed in a letter to Joseph Cowen, in which he wrote (on December 31):

You must never forget how terribly difficult my position is. I won't give way to the threats of the Kharkov people, but the Congress loyalists can seriously reproach me if I keep back such important news for weeks. From Greenberg I have no sufficient information. I literally don't know where we now stand, and yet am pressed from all sides to form decisions. Four days ago Greenberg was with Chamberlain in Birmingham and telegraphed to me: "Interview very satisfactory." Nothing else. How can I decide upon that? What Greenberg finds "very satisfactory" I may perhaps find otherwise.

It would naturally be good if I had the central office in

London. But that could only be if I had my living there. That I should allow myself to be maintained by our movement, in whatever way, is the most ridiculous idea. In the first place I have not the character necessary for this. Secondly, if I had the character, may God graciously protect and preserve me from it.

Such was the state of mind of the Zionist leader when, on the last day of the year 1903, there arrived in Vienna the delegation appointed by the Kharkov conference to present the ultimatum. It consisted of Professor Belkowsky, a lawyer, Simon Rosenbaum, and the engineer Tiomkin. Herzl immediately gave them to understand that he would not receive them as a delegation, since the Russian members of the "Great Actions Committee" did not form a constitutionally recognized body. He also told them quite bluntly that he was not receiving any ultimatum. The members of the delegation, having conceded these two important points, were admitted in their individual capacities to a meeting of the Executive. But they might just as well have stayed at home, for they achieved nothing and returned to Russia.

The East African question, however, was by no means disposed of, despite Herzl's confidential circular. It was to continue to trouble him until his death and also to torment the Zionist world after that, until the next Congress, when many supporters of the project, under the leadership of Israel Zangwill, founded the Jewish Territorial Organization, to establish an autonomous settlement in any part of the world.⁸

⁸ The Jewish Territorial Organization (commonly called "I.T.O.") was founded in Basle in July, 1905. It carried out investigations in Cyrenaica and Angola with negative results, regulated part of the Jewish immigration into the United States *via* Galveston, and was formally dissolved in 1925.

XVII

The Closing Phase

IN HIS CEASELESS QUEST FOR AUGUST PERSONALITIES WHO MIGHT be persuaded to influence the Sultan, Herzl, in the latter part of January, 1904, set out for Rome. He was to have an interview with the King of Italy, Victor Emmanuel III, which had been arranged by the Chief Rabbi of Florence, and hoped to be granted an audience by the Pope, Leo XIII. He went to Venice first, for a day's rest, and it was fortunate that he did so, as he made the acquaintance there, in an Austrian restaurant, of a painter named Count Lippay (who had received his title from the Pope). The Count, who knew Herzl by repute and was unaware of his destination, joined him at his table and, in the course of conversation, suggested that he should go on to Rome, where he would introduce him to the Pope, with whom he was very friendly. The offer was gladly accepted.

Herzl was in Rome on January 22, at the Hotel Quirinal, from where Count Lippay drove with him to the Vatican and introduced him to the State Secretary, Cardinal Merry del Val. Herzl (in his Diary) described the Cardinal as a tall, slim, aristocratic figure of thirty-eight, with serious brown eyes and a tinge of gray hair at his temples. When the Zionist leader explained that he wished to have a statement from the Vatican in favor of his cause, the Cardinal said:

"I do not quite see how we should take an initiative in this matter. As long as Jews deny the divinity of Christ we surely cannot make a declaration in their favor. How could

we, without abandoning our own highest principles, declare that we are in favor of their recovering possession of the Holy Land?"

Herzl replied: "We only want the profane earth: the Holy Places should be extraterritorialized."

"That will not do," said the Cardinal, "to imagine them in an enclave." He went on to state that the College of Cardinals had never yet occupied themselves with the question. They knew from the papers that such a movement existed, but the College as such could not concern themselves with it thoroughly unless they had an *exposé* before them. In order that they should declare themselves in favor of the Jewish people, it was necessary that it should be converted. The Cardinal again remarked that the Vatican could not take the initiative, whereupon Herzl replied that this would be taken by one of the Great Powers, and showed him Plehve's last letter. The conversation ended with a promise by the Cardinal to ask the Pope to grant Herzl an audience.

The following morning, Herzl was given a very friendly reception by the King, who told him that in Italy no distinctions were made between Jews and Christians, and that Jews could hold any office in the Government service. Herzl related the difficulties that he had encountered in Constantinople and produced the letters of Plehve and the Grand Duke of Baden to show him what stage his efforts had reached and to solicit his personal intervention with the Sultan. The King assured him of his warmest sympathy, told him that he had been to Palestine and seen Jews praying and weeping at the Western Wall in Jerusalem, and expressed the conviction that the country must ultimately come into Jewish possession. "It is only a question of time," he said. But when Herzl asked him to address a letter to the Sultan, he replied: "I should be glad to do it, but I cannot

do what I want. I must first of all seek advice. Speak to Tittoni, the Foreign Minister, also. I see him this evening and shall prepare him for your visit. I promise you only my goodwill, not my action." Herzl mentioned that he had depicted Jewish life in Palestine as it would be in the future, in his romance *Altneuland*, whereupon the King said that he would like to have a copy.

Two days later (on January 25), Herzl had an audience with the Pope. The latter received him standing and held his hand out to him, but Herzl did not kiss it. He knew that everybody who was granted an audience by the Pope was expected to kneel and to kiss his hand. He had worried over this matter and was quite relieved when the greeting was over, but believed that he had prejudiced his case by not conforming to custom. After he had explained what he wanted, the Pope replied severely and firmly:

"We cannot favor this movement. We shall not be able to prevent the Jews from going to Jerusalem, but we can never favor it. The land of Jerusalem was not always holy: it was sanctified by the life of Jesus Christ. As head of the Church I cannot say otherwise. The Jews have not recognized our Lord, that is why we cannot recognize the Jewish people."

When Herzl suggested the extraterritorialization of the Holy Places and referred to the existing position, the Pope said: "I know that it is not pleasant that the Turks possess our Holy Places. We must put up with that. But to show favor to the Jews in acquiring the Holy Places, that we cannot do."

Herzl urged that religious questions should be left out of account and consideration be given only to the Jewish distress, whereupon the Pope said: "Yes, but we, I, as head of the Church, cannot do so. Two alternatives are possible.

Either the Jews keep to their faith and still await the Messiah, who for us has already come. Then they deny the divinity of Jesus and we cannot help them. Or they go there without any religion, then we certainly cannot be on their side."

During the conversation, Count Lippay entered, knelt, and kissed the Pope's hand. He described his "wonderful" meeting with Herzl in Venice and said that the wonder consisted of the fact that he had originally intended spending the night in Padua. The Pope commented that he was pleased that the Count had introduced him, but, so far as the question under discussion was concerned, he repeated "*Non possumus!*"

Herzl also had a talk with the Italian Foreign Minister, Tittoni. It was short but satisfactory, for the latter had been prepared by the King and declared that he would do everything possible. He promised to write to the Italian Ambassador in Constantinople that he should act in conjunction with the Russian Ambassador, but pointed out that the King could not risk making any personal intervention until it was certain that it would be acceptable. He asked Herzl for a memorandum on the question, and in the summary that Herzl wrote of all that he had so far achieved in the political field, he urged that the King should send a letter to the Sultan, advising him to give favorable consideration to the Zionist proposals.

2

Meanwhile, Greenberg had been continuing his negotiations with the British Government. On January 27, while Herzl was still in Rome, he received a telegram from Greenberg announcing that he had obtained a Charter for East

Africa. Herzl was back again in Vienna early in February, and found that Benedikt, in accordance with his usual policy concerning Zionism, had suppressed the dispatch sent by De Fiori, the *Neue Freie Presse* correspondent in Rome, stating that the Zionist leader had been received by the King and the Pope. Unfortunately, the hopes that Herzl had based upon the King's friendly attitude proved fruitless, as De Fiori sent him a wire with the disappointing message that the King could not intervene, owing to the lack of the necessary preparations.

A further telegram from Greenberg reached Herzl on February 9, intimating that the Government would probably collapse within the next few days and asking for authority to accept the offer of the Foreign Office, subject to approval of the terms of the Charter and to the report of the commission, and also for authority to say that arrangements would be made for the commission to start forthwith. Herzl wired back that Greenberg could accept the offer, subject to the stipulations made, and that he gave him this authorization only on condition that absolutely nothing about the matter would be published before the terms of the Charter were approved. Greenberg immediately replied that he had already informed the Foreign Office that the offer was accepted. When the Executive met on February 10, Dr. Kahn and Oscar Marmorek agreed with Herzl that this offer was identical with the proposal that had been submitted to the Congress, except that the territory did not border on the railroad. Kremenezky and Kokesch, however, thought that the proposal was a new one. Herzl had no doubt whatever that he was right and had acted correctly in accepting the offer with the reservations that he had made, but he did not wish to have his hand forced by Greenberg and therefore

wired to him not to engage in any further discussion with the Foreign Office for the present.¹

His mind was again switched away from East Africa to Palestine when, on February 24, he received a visit from a stranger named Ali Nouri Bey, who proposed a most fantastic plan. He described himself as "ex-Consul General of Turkey," and said that he was born in Sweden, had lived in Turkey over twenty years, was a Moslem by religion and the husband of a "Turkish princess." The plan, which he explained to the Zionist leader quite calmly, as though there were nothing extraordinary about it, was that two cruisers should be obtained, which, with a force of one thousand men, should enter the Bosphorus and bombard Yildiz Kiosk for the purpose of causing the Sultan to flee or to be captured. Another Sultan should then immediately be enthroned, after the previous creation of a provisional Government, which should grant the Zionists a Charter for Palestine. Ali Nouri estimated that the cost of this adventure would be about five hundred thousand pounds. Herzl immediately advanced several objections: he was against an enterprise that would entail murder and robbery, he was afraid that the Jews in Turkey would be exposed to massacre, the Zionist movement would be gravely discredited, and the "undertakers" of the expedition could not assume any legal obligation. After laying stress upon all these objections, Herzl apparently thought it unnecessary to mention that the Zionist treasury did not possess the means for so costly an enterprise. But Ali Nouri was not so easily discouraged. He came to see Herzl again a week later and suggested that the Khedive of Egypt, who was ambitious, might like to become the new Sultan.

¹ The territory offered and afterward investigated was the Guas Ngishu plateau in East Africa (not Uganda).

Herzl promised to consider the plan, and several weeks later he wrote to Ali Nouri that he could not accept it.

As he had received no reply from Izzet Bey, to whom he had last written in the preceding December, he sent Dr. Kahn and David Levontin (the bank manager from Jaffa) to Constantinople to find out whether the Ottoman authorities would agree to a plan for farming the administrative revenue of the Sandjak of Acre, in return for which the Zionist Organization would procure a loan for the Ottoman treasury. The mission proved fruitless.

3

Such was the situation when, on April 1, Herzl convened a meeting of the "Great Actions Committee" in Vienna for the tenth of that month. He found it necessary to have such a meeting for various reasons. In the first place, he wished to bring to an end the bitter controversy over the East Africa offer that had been raging in the greater part of the Zionist world, especially in Russia, since the last Congress. He was anxious to conciliate his opponents and to make a further effort to convince them that he had never dreamed of departing from the Basle Program, and that he was as strongly attached to Zion as they were. Despite all his efforts to secure the help of the leading Powers of Europe to win over the sympathy of the Sultan, and despite all their protestations of goodwill and their promises of intervention, the Ottoman Government remained obdurate. The prospect of achieving anything in Constantinople seemed as remote as ever. The only political success consisted of the British offer. It was therefore necessary to make the most of this, and the first step was to send out an Expedition of Inquiry. Herzl's friends in London were urging him to begin preparations

to organize it and also to recall the confidential circular he had issued a few months previously, in which he had stated that the offer was no longer under consideration. The most difficult practical problem was to find the money to defray the costs of the expedition, since no Zionist funds of any kind might be used for the purpose.² Whatever the outcome of the meeting, Herzl was sufficient of a realist not to expect that it would contribute towards the solution of that problem.

He began his address at the meeting in a friendly tone, dismissing the unpleasant and unjust things that had been said about him as unworthy of further consideration, and stressing the cardinal importance of preserving the unity of the organization. After recalling the events at the Congress and subsequent developments, he said:

My personal standpoint in this matter was and is, that we have no right simply to reject such a proposal, to fling it from the table, without asking the people whether they want it or not. I shall not describe this proposal by the much-disputed word "Night-Shelter," but rather say: "This is a piece of bread." I, who perhaps have a piece of cake to eat, have no right to refuse the piece of bread that is offered to the poor just because I don't want it or don't need it. I shall perhaps be delighted and enthusiastic, if despite distress and hunger, the answer given from ideal motives is: "No, we won't have this piece of bread." But I am obliged to put this question. That is my conviction, that it was and is our duty.

In an outburst of self-revelation, he said:

In this city of Vienna one day I tore myself loose from the whole of the circle in which I had lived, from all my friends

² The costs of the expedition, amounting to two thousand pounds, were provided by a Christian friend of the Zionist movement, the Hon. Mrs. E. A. Gordon (see the author's *The Journal of a Jewish Traveller*, p. 153).

and acquaintances, and, as a lonely man, devoted myself to that which I considered right. I don't feel the need of any majority. What I need is only that I shall be in harmony with my own conviction. Then I am content, even though no dog takes a piece of bread from me.

What had incensed him most deeply was the belief that he had given up Palestine. He recalled that he had done everything in his power, in his closing speech in Basle, to reassure those who were anxious by quoting the traditional saying of their people, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its cunning." He again pointed out that the decision of the Congress was not to accept the British offer but to investigate the suitability of the territory offered. At the same time, he emphasized that the Executive had done all that they could as regards Palestine, and he reported on the latest futile mission of Kahn and Levontin.

His speech was followed by a prolonged debate, which lasted two whole days and was punctuated by many a sharp exchange and bitter retort. In his reply, he again condemned the Kharkov conference, and declared that, when the report on the East Africa project came before the next Congress, he would not exercise any pressure in its favor. "I am stronger than you," he exclaimed, "that is why I am conciliatory; because I know that I shall win." Finally he said:

Nobody could reproach me with having become unfaithful to Zionism if I would say: "I am going to Uganda." I introduced myself to you as the advocate of a Jewish State. I gave you my card with the words: "Herzl, advocate of a Jewish State." In the course of time I learned a great deal, I learned to know Jews. It was often a pleasure. I also learned to realize that the solution for us lies only in Palestine. . . . If I say to you that I became a Zionist and remained one, and all my efforts are directed toward Palestine, you have every reason to believe me.

In the end, the desire for reconciliation that existed on both sides prevailed. The resolution that was then adopted noted with satisfaction the continued labors of the Executive on behalf of Palestine, assumed that the Executive would concern itself with the task of dispatching an expedition to East Africa in the spirit of the resolution of the Sixth Congress, and that, as the British offer would not be decided upon until the next Congress, the question meanwhile remained open for free discussion. It was also agreed that all suggestions coming from the Russian members of the "Great Actions Committee" not connected with the East Africa project should be carefully considered by the Executive, and that there should be a cessation of personal attacks. The meeting also spent some time discussing practical Palestinian questions, and Herzl urged the establishment of a model cooperative settlement on the lines proposed by Franz Oppenheimer at the last Congress. After all the formal business had been disposed of, Dr. Tschlenow, the leader of the opposition, expressed perfect satisfaction with Herzl's declarations and moved a vote of confidence in the Executive. In closing the conference, after five days of heated debate, Herzl thanked the members in the name of the movement and hoped that when they met next he would be able to report gratifying progress.

4

Little did he dream that that was the last meeting he would address, and that he had only another three months to live. His health, despite external appearances, had in recent years rarely been really satisfactory, and the frequent excitements, disappointments, and depressions to which he had been subjected told seriously upon his heart. Yet, heedless of all disquieting symptoms, he plodded away—a slave

to his conscience. On the day that the meeting of the "Great Actions Committee" began, he wrote a letter to the New York banker and philanthropist, Jacob H. Schiff, who was then on a visit to Frankfort, saying that he would like to have a talk with him on the question of Jewish emigration. He hoped to be able to meet him in Paris the following week, failing which he would see him early in May in London, at Lord Rothschild's, as he had heard that he would be there until May 10. But on April 29, he wrote to Rothschild that he intended going to London in June to discuss certain questions with the British Government. He informed him that he had planned to see Schiff in Paris or London, but was prevented from traveling by some important matters. He therefore asked Rothschild to secure Schiff's assent in principle to giving his active cooperation in the Jewish cause. He also received a letter from Schiff, stating that he was willing to help to the best of his ability, whereupon Herzl replied that, as he was unable to get away from Vienna for the present, he was sending his intimate friend, Dr. Katzenelsohn, to London, to have a confidential talk with him.

On April 30, Herzl had a long interview with Count Goluchowski, the Austrian Foreign Minister, and was delighted to find that he was so sympathetic to Zionism. He showed him the last letter from the Grand Duke of Baden and Plehve's of the previous December, and Goluchowski was so astonished on seeing from the latter that Russia was in favor of a Jewish State that he also agreed at once. However, he did not think that the Great Powers would take any step for the benefit of only one hundred thousand Jews: the Zionists should demand from Turkey sufficient land for the settlement of five or six million Jews. Thereupon Herzl asked him to place himself at the head of a joint action by the Powers, to which he replied: "Now is not the moment.

We haven't yet finished with Macedonia. That must be settled first. We must also have a positive plan of execution." Goluchowski advised Herzl to secure the support of the Hungarian Prime Minister, Count Tisza, as he considered the cooperation of the Hungarian Government indispensable. So enthusiastic was he about the Zionist cause that he even thought that all governments should assist it financially. Meanwhile, it was agreed that Herzl should seek the support of Hungary and try to persuade England to take the initiative, and the Count would be glad if he would look him up again later.

5

Immediately after this interview, Herzl's state of health compelled him to consult medical specialists, who found an alarming deterioration in the condition of his heart. They ordered him to go to Franzensbad for six weeks' rest. "I had long felt tired," he wrote at the time, "but still went on." He left on May 3 and, as soon as he arrived at the hotel, he wrote to his wife that he was the only guest, as the season had not yet begun. On the next day, he wrote to his mother, whom he addressed "My dear good Mama," that it was a brilliant idea that he had come there to do something for his "tired nerves"; but, in reality, he was suffering from something far more serious. He wrote to her almost every other day, describing the perfect peace and idleness that he was enjoying. He had joined the local lending library, but read nothing demanding any greater mental strain than a novel of Dickens. On May 8, he wrote: "I am relishing this indescribable monotony as another would savor pleasure. I want to take a rest for a while from Kings, Popes, Ministers, politics, and newspapers. I don't want to know of anything." Three days later, he wrote to her again: "You simply cannot

form any idea of the depth and thoroughness of this monotony, but I feel quite well. It is really the first time for many years that I am getting to know a truly absolute and undiluted recuperation. But this is what the worker needs. I am also looking quite well."

These messages to his mother were doubtless written to dispel any anxiety on her part. But in the privacy of his Diary, he headed a copy of a letter that he wrote to Plehve on May 13 with the English words: "broken down." After Katzenelsohn had his talk with the American banker, Schiff, in London, he traveled to Franzensbad to report to Herzl. He told him that, at the wish of Lord Lansdowne and the British Government, Schiff was prepared to negotiate a loan for Russia if something were done for the Jews there. That was why Herzl thought it necessary to write a letter to the Russian Minister, suggesting that he should immediately grant Katzenelsohn an audience, in which Katzenelsohn could inform him of this important proposal.

After they had had a preliminary talk, Herzl suggested to Katzenelsohn that they should take a short stroll to the park, and as they were going up the Kaiser Strasse, which had a gradual rise, Herzl had a sudden attack of heart-weakness and almost collapsed. Katzenelsohn looked round for somebody whom he could send to fetch a doctor, but the street was empty, as it was the beginning of the season. Fortunately, he was able to help Herzl to reach a bench, and the attack was soon over. Katzenelsohn remarked that it was probably due to their having walked up the street too quickly.

"Nonsense," replied Herzl, "why should we deceive ourselves? With me it is after the third bell. I am no coward and face death very calmly, all the more as I have not spent

the last years of my life quite uselessly. I wasn't altogether too bad a servant of the movement, don't you think?"

"Quite so," was the reply, "but what makes you talk about the third bell?"

Herzl looked at his friend very seriously and said: "This is no longer a time for jesting. It is bitterly grave."³

They returned to the hotel and spent the whole evening discussing the results of Katzenelsohn's visit to London and Herzl's suggestions as to how to make the best use of them in St. Petersburg. At ten o'clock, they went to bed, as Katzenelsohn was to leave early on the following morning. That night a fire broke out in the Kurhaus, and it was burned down. Katzenelsohn was awakened by the noise, and noticing a light in Herzl's room, thought that he had also been aroused from his sleep.

At half-past five, Herzl came to awaken his friend, as arranged, so that they could go to the fountain together. "With the same punctuality and the same seriousness with which I perform other tasks," he said, "I must also do my daily work here, and that is to replace my worn-out heart with another. That is why I must drink the waters and take baths."

In his hand Herzl held a thick manuscript, which he mutely handed over to Katzenelsohn. The latter examined it and saw that it was a carefully drafted memorandum for

³ Herzl often meditated on his death and on the continuance of the movement after it. On one occasion (March 15, 1903), he said to his friend Adolf Friedemann: "If I have any merit, it is that I have arranged everything on an impersonal basis. If I were to die today, the machine would continue to work smoothly. Somebody will deliver a fine memorial oration on me, so and so many societies will record my name in the Golden Book.... All the members of the Executive are instructed, and if my successor does not enjoy the same authority, it is quite all right. He should learn to gain the people's trust." (Adolf Friedemann, *Das Leben Theodor Herzls*, p. 83.)

his visit to St. Petersburg. "For Heaven's sake, when did you write that?" he asked reproachfully.

Herzl had sat at his desk all night and had not slept at all, and had been so absorbed in his work that he had not noticed the fire.

Katzenelsohn looked at him reprovingly and said: "Is that how you want to get well? Is this to be a cure?"

"Yes, my friend," was the reply. "You saw yesterday that 'we' have no more time to lose. The last weeks or days . . . we are in a hurry."⁴

Despite his doctors' orders, Herzl went on working. There were no meetings in Franzensbad to attend nor discussions to hold, but he continued writing letters. On May 14, he wrote to Count Lippay, who had told him in Rome that the Archduke Eugene was interested in the Zionist movement and would like to see him. He had heard that the Archduke was coming to Carlsbad shortly, and he would be glad if the Count would let him know that he was staying at Franzensbad for a cure until the beginning of June, and would go over to see the Count whenever he wished. On the same day, he also wrote a letter to Suzzara, the official at the head of the Austrian Foreign Office, in which he outlined a plan, in technical detail, to demand from the Ottoman Government a region in Palestine and its vicinity sufficient for the settlement of five to six million Jews, and also suggested that he should inform the Austrian Ambassador in Constantinople (who was then in Vienna), and particularly Count Mensdorf, the Ambassador in London, who should be well prepared before having a talk on the matter with Lord Lansdowne.

On the next day, he wrote a short confidential note to

⁴ The above account of Dr. Katzenelsohn's visit to Franzensbad is based upon his own record published in *Die Welt* of May 20, 1910.

David Wolffsohn, advising him that he might perhaps "be called upon to undertake negotiations for a Russian loan in America," and concluding with the words: "Writing tires me." Yet, on the following day he wrote a longer letter to Schiff to thank him for the friendly reception that he had given to Katzenelsohn and to ask him not to disclose to the directors of the Jewish Colonization Association the information that had been imparted to him. That letter, dated May 16, 1904, was the last entry in his Diary. He could continue no longer.

6

The "cure" at Franzensbad had proved of no avail. Instead of becoming better he had become weaker. He therefore returned to Vienna for a brief rest, and on June 3, accompanied by his wife and Kremenezky, he went to Edlach, in the Semmering. Before leaving his home, he took a sheet of paper, on which he wrote in English: "In the midst of life there is death," and placed it on a little pile of correspondence on his writing-desk. He had a premonition that this was his last journey. When the doctors at the Edlacher Hof saw him, they regarded him as a dying man, but he astonished them by improving in the fresh mountain air, under the devoted care of his wife. He even began writing letters again, and a plan was discussed to take him to the health resort of Blankensee, near Hamburg, to try a new cure. But, unfortunately, the plan remained stillborn, as he took a turn for the worse and had a violent fit of coughing.

On July 1, the doctors diagnosed bronchial catarrh, and this developed into pneumonia. He was conscious of his condition and remarked to his zealous Christian follower, Hechler, who was allowed to visit him: "Greet Palestine for me. I have given my blood for my people." He demanded

impatiently that his younger children (the eldest was already with him) and his mother, who, at his special wish, had not been told that he was dangerously ill, should be brought immediately to see him.

By Sunday morning, July 3, there were signs of incipient collapse, and he begged the doctors to keep him alive until their arrival. Despite his pains and increasing shortness of breath, he maintained an appearance of good cheer. And when, at last, his mother entered the room, he raised himself with his ebbing energies and, sitting erect, said: "It's nice, Mother dear, that you are here now. You look well. I don't look so well but shall soon be better." After kissing his mother and children, he asked them to leave the room and sank back exhausted. His wife remained with him, as well as his friends Marmorek and Kremenezky.

In the afternoon, he was a little better, and his mother came in to see him again. But at five o'clock, when Dr. Sigmund Werner had his back turned for a moment while preparing an injection, he heard a deep sigh. He looked round quickly and saw the head sink on the breast. It was all over. Herzl's mother threw herself on the bed and clung to the dead man, and his wife, distracted, called to the doctors: "He's only in a swoon. Attend to my husband, save him!" They took her away gently, promising that they would try to revive him. They knew that it would be useless. Dr. Werner closed his eyes.

The news of Herzl's death struck the Jewish world like a thunderbolt, for only a few had known that he was so desperately ill. Soon there began a flood of telegrams of sympathy in hundreds, not only from individual Zionists and societies, but also from Jewish communities and organizations in all parts of the world. They poured not only into Herzl's home but also into the offices of the Zionist Execu-

tive and *Die Welt*. They also poured into the office of the *Neue Freie Presse*, which published columns of messages of sympathy from other Austrian and German papers, as well as from official bodies and personalities, and from authors and journalists. In its issue of July 4, the *Neue Freie Presse* printed as a feuilleton on its front page a laudatory appreciation of Theodor Herzl, not as the Zionist leader but as a member of its staff, as its former correspondent in Paris, and as the writer of entertaining feuilletons that had made him one of the leading writers of Austria and Germany. On another page, it printed an obituary two-thirds of a column in length, in which reference was made to his distinguished journalistic career and to several of his plays, but only a few lines were devoted to a scanty account of his activity as the founder of the Zionist movement and President of the Zionist Organization.

The passing of Herzl was mourned by the entire Jewish press, not only by Zionist papers but also by non-Zionist ones, which had formerly criticized or attacked him but which now acknowledged the greatness of the man who had aroused the conscience of the world to the existence of the Jewish problem and earned the esteem of the heads of governments in his undaunted attempt to deal with it. Deputations from Zionist bodies in almost all the countries of Europe hastened to Vienna to attend the funeral, which took place on July 7. It was very simple in character, in accordance with the wishes of the dead leader, the plain coffin being covered with the blue and white Zionist flag which had first been displayed at the First Zionist Congress. But what the funeral lacked in grandiose trappings and floral wreaths was more than surpassed in the impressiveness of the vast, sorrowing concourse which followed on foot the hearse drawn by two slowly

stepping horses, from the house in the Haizinger Gasse to the Doeblinger Cemetery.

It was a spectacle such as had never been seen before at any funeral in Vienna, a grief-stricken multitude numbering over five thousand, not only of Zionists and of delegations of Jewish communities of many countries, but also of authors, journalists, playwrights, and political representatives who wished to pay their last respects to an honored colleague and a Jewish statesman. And when the body of Theodor Herzl was lowered into the grave beside that of his father, there were hundreds who sobbed as though they had lost their own father. Nor did many eyes remain dry at the memorial gatherings that were held in synagogues and halls in thousands of Jewish communities throughout the world.

Among the papers in his desk was found a doubly sealed envelope with the superscription: "Property of Herr D. Wolffsohn." When the outer envelope was opened, it was found that the superscription on the inner one read: "Last Will of Dr. Herzl, dated Nov. 8, 1901, to be opened only after my death.—H." The document itself was as follows:

Dear Friend Wolffsohn,

The foreboding steals over me repeatedly that I shall not live long. I have taxed my nerves with too many excitements, struggles, and undertakings. One day my end will come suddenly. This thought has no terror for me. I am prepared for it at any moment.

Only one thing depresses me when the thought of my death occurs to me. This is the material future of my children. I have for years made too many financial sacrifices for our idea and given too little thought to my children. For myself, as you well know, I never expected from the Jewish people a reward or thanks for my services. But I believe that a compensation is

due to my children. They have come off too badly owing to my activity for the Jewish people. Not only have I spent a fortune for our Zionist cause but also neglected at the same time to put something by for my children.

I entrust it to you as a sacred injunction, that, *immediately after my death*, when I am still fresh in the memory of the Jews, for whom I labored, you should initiate a general national gift under the title: "National Gift for the Children of Dr. Herzl." The proceeds of this collection shall be handed over to my children in equal shares when they come of age.

Until they are of age they shall enjoy the interest that will accrue. Should all my children die before they reach their majority, their property shall go to the National Fund.

[Should one or another of my children die, then the estate shall belong only to my surviving children, but in no case to the relatives on the side of my wife née Naschauer.⁵ For this family was without exception anti-Zionistic, and it would be the greatest injustice if any part of this money fell to them.]

The preceding paragraph in brackets must naturally not be published. But a skillful writer should draft the Appeal for the National Gift for my children.

How this money shall be invested securely, you should decide with some of our best fellow Zionists and the executors of my will, especially with my father, if he survives me.

Take this friendly duty, which I hereby impose upon you, seriously!

I reckon upon you remaining faithful to me beyond the grave. I have always considered you as my most loyal friend. Farewell, *Dade!*⁶ And don't forget me!

Your Theodor Herzl

⁵ Herzl's wife died in 1907 and was cremated. His daughter Pauline died unmarried in 1930 in Bordeaux, and soon after her funeral his son Hans committed suicide. Herzl's other daughter Trude died in a Nazi camp, and her only son Stephen fell from a high building in Washington in 1945 and was killed.

⁶ Herzl's pet name for David Wolffsohn.

XVIII

Epilogue

THE STORY OF THE LIFE OF THEODOR HERZL DOES NOT END with his death at the early age of forty-four. It enters upon a new phase, for he has attained immortality. This expression is not used as the conventional compliment often paid to a great man, but is the tribute or the attribute due to one who has accomplished an achievement that must be admitted to be unique. For he was the spiritual founder of a State that came into being forty-four years after he had passed away, and without his labors it would not have come into existence. So invincible was the movement that he initiated, so dynamic the inspiration that he infused into his followers, that the Zionist Organization continued to develop and expand, despite attacks from without and crises within, until it secured the promise of the British Government in the First World War to facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and then, after a laborious and often desperate struggle of thirty years, won the assent of the United Nations in 1947 to found a Jewish State. There was, of course, a multitude of factors of varied importance—personal, political, and finally military—that contributed to the eventual consummation of a two-thousand-year-old ideal. There was a succession of devoted leaders who, in their different ways and to the fullest extent of their capacities and opportunities, strove to reach the goal that he had set up. But without the organization that he had created and the institutions that he had planned—the Zionist Con-

366

gress, the Jewish Colonial Trust, the Jewish National Fund—without the fundamental transformation he had wrought in Jewish life and thought, and without the acceptance of the principle that the Jews are a nation which he had gained from mighty governments, there would be no State of Israel today.

The idea of the resettlement of the Jews as a nation in their ancestral land was not conceived by Herzl. It was an ancient hope enshrined in the Jewish prayer book and uttered and reiterated throughout the centuries, perhaps perfunctorily by Jews living in lands of liberty, but certainly with fervor and longing by communities suffering in regions of oppression. It was not from that religious tradition that he derived his first impulse to undertake his mission, though he afterward realized that it was the cardinal faith of millions of his fellow Jews. In his case, it was personal experience and prolonged reflection that convinced him of the intolerable position of the Jewish people without a land; but his conviction was reinforced through contact with those to whom the idea was basically religious and even Messianic. Nor was he the first in modern times to advocate that the idea should be transmuted into a living and pulsating reality.

Christians as well as Jews had proclaimed it as both just in conception and possible of execution, but no one took the steps necessary for so difficult and intractable an enterprise. Four of Herzl's forerunners in particular, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, Moses Hess, Hirsch Kalischer, Perez Smolenskin, and Leon Pinsker, had expounded the principle of Jewish nationalism and urged the necessity of its embodiment in political form. The first was a rebel spirit and Socialist pioneer, born in the Rhineland, whose *Rome and Jerusalem*, published in 1860, aroused some critical attention but had no practical effect, though now deemed a

Zionist classic. The second was an orthodox Rabbi in East Prussia, who, despite his enthusiasm and activity, achieved nothing more lasting than the establishment of an agricultural school near Jaffa, in 1870, by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* of Paris. The third was a Hebrew novelist and journalist, an opponent both of orthodoxy and assimilation, whose cogent exposition of Jewish nationalism made a profound impression upon his fellow Jews in Russia but who died too early to attempt anything practical. And the fourth was an Odessa physician, whose brochure *Auto-Emancipation*, written in lapidary style and published in 1882, stimulated the Jews in Eastern Europe to form societies of "Lovers of Zion," whose methods and means were utterly inadequate to their grand objective.

Herzl was the first to perceive that only by setting up a representative and worldwide Jewish organization, which would transfer and elevate the discussion of the Jewish problem from the obscurity of petty societies to a forum commanding universal publicity, and only by adopting the diplomatic methods of the political world would the interest and attention of powerful governments, necessary for the solution of the problem, be aroused. He was the first Jewish statesman wholly dedicated to the cause of his people, received in audience and in a befitting manner by Kaiser and King, by Sultan and Pope, by Grand Vizier and Imperial Chancellor, and by the Cabinet Ministers of leading States, as the spokesman of his people. And if he did not live to see the fruition of his efforts, it was partly because he was cut down in the prime of his manhood by overtaking his strength and partly because the international situation in his time was unfavorable to his purpose. Important and indispensable as were the labors of his distinguished followers, especially of Chaim Weizmann and David Ben-Gurion, it must be

remembered that they were followers, not initiators, who built on the firm foundations that he had laid and benefited by the organization and the inspiration that he had left behind and the vision that he had conjured up so convincingly. Nor was the establishment of the State of Israel the result solely of their personal efforts, invaluable and formidable though they were, for extraneous and cataclysmic forces played an essential part. Without the First World War, there would have been no Balfour Declaration, without the Second, there would have been no State. And without the movement founded by Herzl, there would have been neither.

2

How did it come about that Herzl succeeded in creating a movement strong enough to survive his premature death and to achieve the amazing fulfillment that he foretold, with such uncanny accuracy, fifty years before its advent? It could only have been because he possessed a personality of exceptional physical and intellectual qualities. It is necessary to emphasize the physical aspect, because it was an outstanding element in the influence that he exercised. Nobody who ever saw him, as I did on several occasions, failed to be impressed by his distinguished presence, his dignified demeanor, his sheer physical beauty: tall, broad-shouldered, with the long, black, square-cut beard of an Assyrian Emperor, and bold dark eyes radiating below a thinker's lofty brow crowned with a wealth of black hair. His courtly bearing and natural dignity were attributed by some to his supposed Sephardi ancestry. He looked a born leader, and it was his noble and towering figure, with his sonorous yet sympathetic voice, that enabled him to capture the hearts of

the Jewish people, to whom he came as a stranger from an un-Jewish world.

When Baroness Bertha von Suttner, the recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize (in 1905), was asked after his death to pay him a brief tribute, she wrote: "I wish to speak of his beauty. He was like an Assyrian monarch, and at the same time also a modern gentleman. Of his work (a gigantic work: nothing less than the foundations of a State), of the sparkling gems of his mind which his pen strewed lavishly, much will be told in this miscellany: ¹ but perhaps one has forgotten to mention his external beauty (as though that were unworthy of note beside his other gifts). But it belonged to the harmony of this harmonious human figure, whose soul was also entirely beauty. And indeed of the same type as that of his appearance: pride and refinement." It was inevitable that the Sultan of Turkey, who used rouge and dye to improve his own unprepossessing features, should have been struck by Herzl's commanding and noble figure. To Vambery, who introduced the Zionist leader to him, the Sultan said: "This Herzl looks exactly like a prophet, like a leader of his people. He has very clever eyes, and speaks prudently and clearly." ² And David Wolffsohn related that Ibrahim Bey, the Chief Master of Ceremonies at Yildiz Kiosk, told him that the Sultan had spoken admiringly of the Zionist leader and had said: "That is how Jesus Christ must have looked." ³

The most eloquent description of Herzl's appearance came from the pen of an artist, Hermann Struck, whose profession made him most critical. He wrote:

¹ *Ost und West*, Herzl Number, August, 1904.

² *Die Welt*, May 20, 1910.

³ Adolf Friedemann, *Das Leben Theodor Herzls*, p. 69.

Whatever I have to say of Herzl, the unforgettable, I have tried to put into the several portraits which I have made of the physical man. I know that my attempts have fallen short, for our leader was a man of superhuman beauty. And I confess freely that it was this divine gift of beauty which left the deepest and most enduring impress on my mind.

The towering figure, informed by a marvelous harmoniousness . . . represented an ideal type. But I cannot believe that such amazing beauty was purely physical. The princes before whom Herzl appeared paid him involuntary homage, for they knew instinctively that here was an uncrowned King. If there is such a thing as kingliness of mien and bearing, Herzl possessed it—and in a higher degree, I think, than Wilhelm II, or Edward VII, or Alfonso of Spain. This indescribable nobility of bearing, which was accompanied by that gentle condescension that is the trait of princes, cast a spell over those who came within range of his voice.⁴

Another artist, Lionel S. Reiss,⁵ wrote of “the appeal of Theodor Herzl, the physical man, to the artist, the delight and inspiration awakened by his appearance,” as evidenced in the numerous portraits of the leader, and described the distinguishing features of some of the most striking ones. Ephraim Moses Lilien, who, though born in a Galician Ghetto, came under the influence of Walter Crane and Aubrey Beardsley, designed a stained-glass window for the B’nai B’rith building in Hamburg, in which the dominating figure of Herzl stands like Moses on a mount, with the Tables of the Law in his hand. Of the portraits by Struck, Reiss singled out for special mention the etching that portrays a brooding Herzl mourning a lost Zion: not a man of action, but a contemplative Herzl “with the expression of the *galuth*

⁴ *Theodor Herzl: A Memorial*, edited by M. W. Weisgal, p. 36.

⁵ *Theodor Herzl: A Memorial*, edited by M. W. Weisgal, pp. 111–114.

(exile) across the brow of the leader." Boris Schatz, a native of Lithuania and the founder of the Bezalel School of Art in Jerusalem, modeled a lifelike profile relief. Saul Raskin, with his poetic sense of decoration, "pictured Herzl in an exquisite miniature as another poet who labored long and hard to re-create the Jewish world in the Zionist design."

Leo Mielziner, one of the first Jewish artists of America, who traveled to the first Basle Congress and was thrilled by the personality of Herzl, drew "a portrait of a true leader, a strong captain, a man whom destiny would choose for an important task." The full-length painting by Leopold Pilichowski, which was displayed on the platform at many Zionist Congresses, shows a dominating figure with noble lineaments pointing to the Holy Land in the distance. And Solomon J. Solomon, R.A., who presents Herzl at the prime of life, "gives us a spiritually powerful portrayal in his sensitive style . . . of a Herzl who at that time was working tirelessly for a cause that so many called a hopeless Utopia." But of all the numerous pictures of the Zionist leader produced in his lifetime, the one that gained the widest popularity was a photograph of him on the balcony of his hotel at Basle, with the Rhine bridge in the background, taken by Lilien. So pleased was Herzl with it that he wrote to Lilien: "Please let me also have a second copy for my mother, that is, she gets the first and I'll keep the second." ⁶

3

Yet his physical qualities were only secondary to the combination of intellectual gifts and moral fervor with which he was endowed and which he first began to reveal when he

⁶ Adolf Friedemann, *Das Leben Theodor Herzls*, p. 12.

evolved from a journalist and playwright into a thinker, a visionary, and a statesman. Countless panegyrics, in prose and verse, and in many languages, were written at the time of his death and continued to be composed during the fifty years that have followed. They could easily fill a volume, but even a few quotations from eulogies by his most eminent contemporaries should suffice. Clemenceau, who knew him in his Paris days, said: "Herzl was essentially a man of action, and a great man. . . . He was a man of genius, not to be confounded with a man of talent. . . . Amid all the defection of character which marked his day, the weakness of thought, the furor of clashing interests, he dared to give himself. All the ancestral disquietude of Israel expressed itself in him. What audacity! What courage! What ardor of life!"⁷ The Russian Minister, Plehve, said: "Till Dr. Herzl came to me, I did not know there were Jews who did not crawl."⁸

Israel Zangwill, the first Jew in England whom Herzl called upon for help in the promulgation of his mission, wrote:

It is possible that the myth-creating spirit will take possession of the defenseless dead and leave us little of the real Herzl whom we know and love. And yet the real Herzl is great enough for our veneration. We do not need to make false gods for ourselves if we have unforgettable recollections of the happy comrade full of pleasant humor, and at the same time preserve the memory of one who has been a prophet of Israel's independence and of a State that should be a model to the world.⁹

Max Nordau relates that on one occasion, when he was

⁷ *Theodor Herzl: A Memorial*, edited by M. W. Weisgal, pp. 26-27.

⁸ *Speeches, Articles and Letters of Israel Zangwill*, edited by M. Simon, p. 133.

⁹ *Ost und West*, August, 1904.

having breakfast with Herzl, at which their friend Alexander Marmorek was also present, he said to Herzl:

If I were a believer and had the habit of indulging in mystical language, I would say that your appearance at the most critical moment in the history of the Jewish people is a work of Providence. At this moment of torment and oppression a unique personality was needed, and lo, you emerge to restore hope to the desperate and guarantee the future to the discouraged.¹⁰

Herzl dismissed the compliment rather angrily, and said that, if he disappeared, hundreds, nay thousands, would at once volunteer to carry on the work where he had left off.

Laudatory as were the judgments of those who agreed with the views of Herzl or shared in his labors, it is all the more gratifying to find that he also evoked the admiration of his most redoubtable antagonist in the world of Zionist thought. In a new introduction that Ahad Ha-am added to the third volume of his collected essays, which consisted to a large extent of criticisms of Herzl and his policies, and which he was about to publish at the time of Herzl's death, he wrote the following striking passage:

The actual, living Herzl said and did much that was open to question; and those who did not willfully blind themselves were bound sometimes to oppose him most strenuously. . . . But the ideal figure of Herzl, which is being created before our eyes in the popular mind—what a splendid vision it will be, and how potent its influence to cleanse that very mind of the taint of *galuth*, to awaken it to a sense of national self-respect, and to whet its desire for a real national life! The first-fruits of that influence are already visible, before the month of mourning is over. . . . And, of course, imagination has not yet finished its work. The creation is not yet perfected. As time goes on,

¹⁰ *Ost und West*, August, 1904.

and the ideal picture of the national hero attains its perfect form, he will perhaps become for our day what the national heroes were for our ancestors in days gone by: the people will make him the embodiment of its own national ideal, in all its radiance and purity, and will derive from him strength and courage to struggle onward indefatigably along the hard road of its history.

. . . One thing Herzl gave us involuntarily, which is perhaps greater than all that he did of set purpose. He gave us *himself*, to be the theme of our Hymn of Revival, a theme which imagination can take and adorn with all the attributes needed to make of him a Hebrew national hero, embodying our national aspirations in their true form.¹¹

Ahad Ha-am showed true foresight in picturing Herzl as the national hero, for of all the great figures that have adorned the annals of Israel since the days of its dispersion, his name is the best known, his achievement is most widely appreciated, and his memory is most deeply venerated. There have been other men of action and men of thought, but none who combined action and thought in a manner to prove of enduring benefit to untold generations. There have been illustrious scholars and scientists, philosophers and poets, whose works have been read and studied, but by only a section of the Jewish people and probably understood by a smaller section. There have been noble-hearted humanitarians and philanthropists whose services, important in their time, were of value only to a limited number. There have also been statesmen whose efforts were confined to the betterment of the position of the Jews in one or more countries and whose influence afterward proved ephemeral, owing to some political convulsion. But there was only one Jew whose labors were devoted not to a section of his people or

¹¹ Article by Leon Simon in *Theodor Herzl: A Memorial*, pp. 90-91.

to a particular community, but to the whole of his people and for all time. His name was Theodor Herzl.

4

What he accomplished was done within the small space of nine years, and only one who had habituated himself to intensive industry could have achieved it. To his friend Adolf Friedemann he once said: "I am always at work. When I wake, at four or five in the morning, I immediately think how I could arrange this or that. Just think—this terrible responsibility. It tires me out completely. But a good horse dies in harness." ¹² To direct the affairs of the Zionist movement was in itself a task to occupy every hour of the day, but he had to combine with that the exacting duties of literary editor of the *Neue Freie Presse*, and in both spheres of activity he displayed unusual productivity. From the day that he began to make preparations for the First Zionist Congress and during the first few years that followed, he wrote all his letters by hand, and even at a later period, when he had a secretary or two, he continued to write all important letters and confidential memoranda in his own hand. The most faithful testimony to his industry consists of his voluminous Diary, which he began in the early summer of 1895 and continued methodically and meticulously until he had to break off on May 6, 1904, by which time he had written enough to form three volumes, containing a total of eighteen hundred pages. Nor was this the only piece of writing that he did, for even after he became President of the Zionist Organization, he went on producing plays and feuilletons, besides giving all the spare time of three years

¹² Adolf Friedemann, *Das Leben Theodor Herzls*, p. 91.

to *Altneuland*. And another striking testimony to his industry consists of the record of his countless fatiguing journeys across Europe and to Palestine and Egypt (when methods of travel were less developed and much slower than they are today) as well as of his numerous interviews with personalities of political eminence.

He opened up a new epoch in the history of his people, releasing forces that influenced not only his own generation but also those that followed. His career presented some striking paradoxes. Surrounded by the distractions of the gay cities of Vienna and Paris, where a man of his social charm and intellectual gifts might have been tempted to enjoy the pleasures at his command, he elected to undertake a mission that called for an unusual measure of altruism and austerity, and in the prosecution of which he used up the hard-earned savings intended for his wife and children. Standing on the brink of the abyss of assimilation, in his middle thirties, and undeterred by scoffers and skeptics, he not only stimulated those loyal to their ancestral traditions who daily prayed for the restoration of Zion to begin working for it, but also succeeded in winning back thousands of Jews, if not to the faith of their fathers, certainly to the people from whom they were drifting, and in infusing them with a sense of national pride and a feeling of greater self-respect and moral courage than they had previously possessed. Of the Jews of the latter category, Wickham Steed wrote: "To minds like these Zionism came with the force of an evangel. To be a Jew and to be proud of it; to glory in the power and pertinacity of the race, its traditions, its triumphs, its sufferings, its resistance to persecution; to look the world frankly in the face, and to enjoy the luxury of moral and intellectual honesty . . . was the train of thought fired in

youthful Jewish minds by the Zionist spark.”¹³ Nor was it less of a paradox that he, who had so little of Hebrew learning, should, through the repercussions of his movement, have given an impetus to the revival of Hebrew as a living language and to the production of a rich and ever-growing literature in that tongue, and likewise inaugurated a veritable Jewish renaissance.

The services that he has rendered to his people have found bountiful acknowledgment in the homage he has received. Countless are the Jewish homes, from London to Wellington, and from Vancouver to Rome, in which his portrait occupies a place of honor; countless are the Jewish societies and institutions of all kinds that have adopted his name; and countless, too, are those who were named after him by their zealous fathers. On every anniversary of his death, there was a reverent pilgrimage to his grave in Vienna; in synagogues and halls throughout the world there were solemn gatherings, at which fervent tributes were paid to his revered memory; and all looked forward to the day when his body would be taken to the land for the regaining of which he had given his life.

At length, on November 29, 1947, the dream of Theodor Herzl found fulfillment in the decision of the United Nations that a Jewish State should be created in Palestine; and on May 14, 1948, the establishment of the State of Israel was proclaimed by its first Prime Minister, David Ben-Gurion. In the following year, on August 17, 1949, the earthly remains of the spiritual founder of the State were transferred from Vienna to Israel, by air, and, in the presence of mem-

¹³ From a long and eloquent tribute to Zionism in *The Hapsburg Monarchy* (2nd edit. 1914), pp. 175–177, by Henry Wickham Steed, who was the Vienna correspondent of *The Times* in 1902–1913 and editor in 1919–1922.

bers of the Government, of the Rabbinate, and of thousands of representatives of all sections of the people from all parts of the country, and in an imposing and moving ceremonial befitting the historic event, they were laid in their last resting-place, on a hill west of Jerusalem, the highest point of the Holy City, forever afterward to be known as Mount Herzl.



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Index

Those in search of references to a person, place, or incident, will find it helpful also to consult the synopsis of the relevant chapters.

- Abdul Hamid, Sultan of Turkey, 113, 146, 176–177, 215–216, 219–220, 223–224, 226–227, 230–231, 233, 239; audience to Herzl, 241–243; 249, 252, 253; proposals for Jewish immigration, 260; 276–277 *seq.*, 285, 290, 295–296, 334, 370
- Abrahams, Israel, 85
- Acre, Sandjak of, 306, 352
- Actions-Komitee* (Actions Committee), 158, 169, 214, 224, 247, 289, 330, 345, 352 *seq.*, 356
- Adler, Dr. Hermann, Chief Rabbi, 85, 149
- Admath Yeshurun*, 103
- Agence Havas*, 123
- Ahad Haam (Asher Ginzberg), 160, 254, 284, 374–375
- Ahmed Midhat Effendi, 146, 148
- Ahmed Tewfik, 233
- Akademische Lesehalle*, 28, 52
- Alawerdow, 116
- Albia*, 28, 31, 32–33, 102
- Alexander III, Tsar, 311
- Alexandria, 198–199
- Alfonso, King, 371
- Ali Nouri Bey, 351–352
- Alien Immigration, Royal Commission, 267 *seq.*, 324
- Alkalai, Jehuda Hai, 24–25
- Allemania*, 29
- Allgemeine Israelitische Wochenschrift*, 98
- Altneuland*, 45, 217, 236, 266 (completed), 280–284, 290, 348, 377
- Amalfi, 39
- Amsterdam, 180
- Anatolia, 261
- Anglo-Jewish Association, 117
- Anglo-Jewish Community, 222
- Anglo-Palestine Bank, 324
- Company, 324–331
- Anti-Semitism, at school, 22; at University, 27; racial, 30; in Austria, 35, 37, 55, 60, 63–64, 79 *seq.*, 91–93, 99, 191; in Russia, 310
- Apostolic Delegate (Constantinople), 162
- Nuncio (Vienna), 162
- Arbela, Dr. D', 142
- Argentina, Jewish colonies in, 69, 86, 98, 155; suggested by Herzl, 93
- Argyll, Duchess of, 275

- Arif (Turkish official), 277, 278
 Armenian revolt, 110, 114, 116, 119, 130
 Ashkenazim, 153
 Asia Minor, 249
 Assimilation, in Russia, 308; 377
 Assuan Dam, 292
 Athenaeum Club, 181
 Auersperg, Count, 234-235
Aufsichtsrat, 214
 Aussee, Alt Aussee, 76, 230, 279, 322, 338
 Austin, Alfred, 222
 Austria, anti-Semitism in, 78-79; Zionists in, 102; politics in, 221
 Austrian Foreign Office, 133
Auto-Emancipation, 90, 102
 Avigdor, Elim d', 99
 ——— Sylvie d', 99

 Bacher, Eduard, 40, 41, 47, 79 *seq.*, 98-99, 129, 133, 150, 162, 169, 170-172, 188-189, 212, 215, 218, 230, 240
 Baden, Grand Duke of, 106-108, 116, 141, 164, 170, 177-178, 185, 200, 204, 210, 216-217, 221, 246, 250, 304, 334-336, 341
 Badeni, Count Kasimir, 81-82, 131-132, 136
 Bagdad, 243
 Bahr, Hermann, 33
 Baker, Sir Benjamin, 292
 Balfour Cabinet, 268
 Balfour Declaration, 369
 Baltic Provinces, 313
 Bambus, Willi, 139, 140, 143, 145, 149
 Bank of England, 270
 Bank, Jewish Colonial. *See* Jewish Colonial Trust
 Bank Leumi le-Israel, 324

Bar-Mitzvah, 22, 24
 Barnay, Ludwig, 54
 Barrington, Eric, 229, 321
 Bartlett, Sir Ashmead, 209
 Basle, 149, 151, 213, 253
 Basle Program, 157-158, 168, 197, 274, 309, 332, 333, 342, 352
 Battersea, Lady, 236, 275, 276, 291
 Beer, Friedrich, 57, 59, 123-124
 Beirut, Vilayet of, 186, 285
 Belgium, 36
 Belkowsky, Prof. G., 323, 345
 Bellamy, Edward, 71, 74
 Benedikt, Moritz, 79 *seq.*, 132-133, 147-148, 150, 169, 170, 172, 188-189, 237, 240, 246, 248, 294
 Ben-Gurion, D., 368, 378
 Ben-Jacob, 316-317
 Ben-Yehudah, E., 102, 105, 189
 Bentwich, H., 174, 181
 Berkowicz, Michael, 95
 Berlin, 36-37, 43, 62, 66, 143, 145, 166-167, 183
 Berlin Treaty, 228
 ——— Conference, 277
 ——— University, 30
Berliner Tageblatt, 37, 40, 149
Bernhardiner, Der (play), 43
 Bernhardt, Sarah, 34
 Bernstein-Kohan, Dr., 247, 329, 339
 Bessarabia, 302
 Bezalel School, 302
 Biarritz, 47
 Bierer, Rubin, 102-103
 Bilitz, Rebecca, 20
 Birnbaum, Nathan, 102, 140, 143, 156
 Bismarck, Prince, 74, 115, 127, 142
 Björnson, B., 48
 Black Sea, 263
 Blankensee, 361

- Blaue Donau, Die*, 51
 Bloch, Ivan, 210, 211
 Bloch, Dr. Joseph, 146, 165
 Blowitz, de, 40
 Blumenthal, Oscar, 41
 Board of Control, 214
 Bodenheimer, Dr. M., 138, 174,
 188-189, 196, 323
 Boer War, 222
 Bordeaux, 46
 Bonetti (Apostolic Delegate), 162
 Bosphorus, 351
 Bourgeois, Leon, 210
 Boutros Ghali Pasha, 289, 297
 Boyd Carpenter, Bishop, 249
 Bramley Moore, Bishop, 249
 Bramley, Jennings, 293
 Brazil, 281
 Bribery, 245
 Brighton, 42
 British Government, 267, 275, 325
 seq., 366. *See also* England
 Broze (settler), 198
 Buber, Martin, 254, 284
Buch der Narrheit, 38, 41, 53
 Budapest, 19, 21, 25, 26, 111, 230,
 233, 238
Bühnenwelt, Die, 40
 Bukowina, 158, 224
 Bulgaria, Prince (King) of, 126
 Bülow, Count von, 178-179, 184,
 186-187, 190-192, 196-197, 199;
 Memoirs, 201; 205, 212, 323
 Bund, 316
 Bundists, 317
 Burg Theatre, 33, 38, 42, 43-44,
 52-54, 159, 220
 Burlington Hotel, 181
Burschenschaft. See Fraternities
 Cairo, 289-290, 294 *seq.*; Herzl's
 visit, 298
 Canada, 169
 Canadian Zionist Federation, 222
 Capri, 39-40
 Carey, Henry, 77
 Carlsbad, 116, 126, 360
 Carnegie, Andrew, 249
 Cassel, Sir Ernest, 292
 Caucasus Mountains, 243, 324
Causa Hirschhorn, Die, 33
 Caux, 72
 Caxton Hall, 272
 Chamber of Deputies, 34, 48-49,
 50
 Chamberlain, Joseph, 275, 285,
 287-288, 290, 294, 299-300, 305-
 306, 320 *seq.*, 330
 Chartered Company, 191, 213
 Chassidim, 105
 Chlumetzky, Baron, 55
 Clemenceau, G., 373
 Clerkenwell Town Hall, 168
 Cohen, Alfred, 144, 294
 Cohn, Emil B., 139
 Cohn, Rabbi Dr., 161
 College of Cardinals, 347
 Cologne, 101, 138, 146, 208, 269
 Colonial Office (British), 286, 287,
 299
 Columbus, 309
 Comedies. *See* Play-writing
 "Concordia," 41, 97
 Congo Free State, 307
 Congress, Zionist, First (1897),
 151-161
 — Second (1898), 173-176
 — Third (1899), 213-215
 — Fourth (1900), 227-229
 — Fifth (1901), 253-255
 — Sixth (1903), 323-333
 Constans (French Ambassador),
 265

- Constantine, Grand Duke, 247, 250
- Constantinople, Herzl's first visit, 112-115
- Herzl's second visit, 189-192
- Herzl's third visit (1901), 240-246
- Herzl's fourth visit (1902), 258-264
- Herzl's fifth visit (July, 1902), 276-279
- Constanza, 258, 264
- Cook's Archipelago, 280
- Co-operative system, 282, 355
- Coquelin, 34
- Correspondance de l'Est*, 163, 208
- Courland, 313
- Cowen, Joseph, 237, 251, 256, 258, 263-264, 299, 323, 333, 344
- Cracow, 143
- Credit Anstalt, 215
- Creighton, Bishop, 181
- Crespi (Turkish agent), 231-232, 235-236, 238-239, 241, 244
- Crete, 109, 177, 287
- Croatia, 19, 21
- Cromer, Lord, 287-288, 289, 295, 298-299, 301, 337
- Cromwell, 100
- Cultural Zionism, 160
- Culture, Jewish national, 215, 229, 254
- Cyprus, 217, 286, 288
- Cyrenaica, 345
- "Dade" (pet name for D. Wolffsohn), 223, 365
- Daily Chronicle*, 163, 165
- Daily Mail*, 264
- Daily News* (London), 264
- Dame in Schwarz*, *Die* (play), 44
- Daniel Deronda*, 86
- Daout Effendi, 113
- Daudet, Alphonse, 48, 64, 65
- David Alroy*, 100
- Dead Sea, 281
- Death of Herzl, 362; thoughts on death, 359
- Debt Control Commission, 113
- Delamere, Lord, 336
- Democratic Zionist Fraction, 254
- Dessauer (bank director), 89, 132
- Deutsche Bank, 204
- Deutsche Zeitung*, 37
- Devil's Island, 65, 66
- Diamant, Jeanette, 19
- Wolf Herman, 19
- Diaries, Herzl's, 25, 31, 33, 37, 55, 67-68, 71, 88, 90, 113, 116, 123, 127, 128, 132, 134, 141, 153, 159, 162, 170, 178, 188, 206, 229, 235-236, 238-239, 240, 247, 257, 267, 301, 371
- Diaspora, 160
- Dickens, Charles, 357
- Digby, Sir Kenelm, 272
- Disraeli, Benjamin, 100, 225, 226
- Djervad Bey, 112
- Döblinger Cemetery, 301, 364
- Doctor juris*, 34
- Dreyfus affair, 191
- Dreyfus, Alfred, 65-67
- Dreyfus, Dr. Charles, 331
- Drishath Zion*, 102
- Drumont, Edouard, 64
- Duchess of Argyll, 275
- Duel, 29, 35
- Dühring, Eugen, 30-31, 63
- Duke of Antioch, 29
- Northumberland, 249
- Duma, 328
- Dziennik Polski*, 135

- East Africa project, 320-332, 354
 East End (London), 120-122, 229
 Eastbourne, 42
 Eastern Europe, Jews of, 140, 159,
 215, 228, 267, 271, 273-274, 289
 Edlach, 289, 338, 361 *seq.*
 Education, Herzl's, 20, 21, 22-23
 Edward VII, King, 238, 249, 371
 Egypt, 287, 289, 299-300, 377
 Egyptian Government, 290 *seq.*,
 294 *seq.*, 299, 301, 305, 325
 Ehrenpreis, Dr. M., 143
 Ehrlich, Dr., 80, 83
 Eichenstamm, Prof., 283
 Eiffel, Gustave, 49
 Eisik, Rabbi, 138
 El-Arish scheme, 286 *seq.*, 288,
 300, 332
 Eliot, Sir Charles, 336
 Eliot, George, 86, 100
 Elizabeth, Empress, 178
 Emigration, from Russia, 69, 133,
 275, 304, 308-309, 324, 335, 356;
 from Rumania, 226-227
 England, Herzl's first visit, 41-42
 England and Zionism, 168, 227-
 228, 325 *seq.*
 English Zionist Federation, 169,
 215, 222
 Esterhazy, Major, 66
 Eugene, Archduke, 360
 Eulenburg, Count August zu, 190
 Eulenburg, Count Philipp zu,
 170-171, 177-179, 180, 183, 200,
 322, 336
 European Control Commission,
 111
 Evans-Gordon, Major, 270, 272,
 274
 Eydtkuhnen, 318
 "Ezra" (society), 138
 Ferdinand, Prince of Bulgaria,
 126-127
 Feuilletons (Herzl's), 33, 39, 42,
 46, 286, 291, 292, 294, 363, 376
 Fiori, de (journalist), 350
 Flag, Jewish, 94, 363
 Fleischel, Philip, 19
Floh, Der (journal), 37
 Florence, 39
Flüchtling, Der (play), 38, 42, 54
 Foreign Office, British, 286, 288,
 292, 321, 340, 350-351
 — Russian, 355
 Founders' Shares, 214
France Juive, La, 64
 France, Anatole, 48
 Francis Joseph, Emperor, 78, 136
Frankfurter Zeitung, 40
 Franzensbad, 357, 360
 Franzensfeste (Tyrol), 246
 Fraternities, students', 30-32
Freiland, 77
 French Academy, 49
 — Government, 295
 — politics, 50
 Friedemann, Adolf, 23, 284, 359,
 370, 372, 376
 Friedjung, Heinrich, 37
 Friedmann, Paul, 301
 — Siegwart, 36
Fugitive, The (play), 53, 54
 Galicia, Zionists in, 135, 137, 142,
 158; conditions in, 271; restric-
 tions in, 220
 Galilee, 296
 Galveston, 345
 Garstin, Sir William, 298, 300-301
 Gaster, Rev. Dr. M., 121, 149, 172,
 174, 188, 222, 229, 249
 General Council, 158
 George, Henry, 77

- German Emperor, 74. *See* William II
- Geulah* Society, 337
- Ghalib Bey, 261
- Ghetto, 55, 56, 57, 58
- Ghetto*, *The* (play), 57
- Ginzberg, Asher, 160
- Girardi, 217
- Gladstone, W. E., 99
- Glogau, Dr., 81
- Goldberg, Boris, 318
- Golden Book, 359
- Goldmann, Paul, 51
- Goldsmid, Col. Albert E., 85-86, 111, 119, 121, 122, 135, 144, 145, 149, 168, 181, 293-294, 297-299, 300-301, 337
- Goluchowski, Count, 221, 336, 341, 356-357
- Gomperz, Prof., 98
- Goodman, Paul, 168
- Gordon, David, 138
- Gordon, Hon. Mrs. E. A., 353
- Gortschakoff, Prince, 47
- Gottheil, Rabbi Dr. G., 149
- Prof. Richard, 173, 237
- Great Assembly Hall (London), 182
- Greco-Turkish War, 145
- Greeks, 287
- Greenberg, L. J., 174, 215, 267-268, 285, 289-291, 294-297, 299, 305-306, 320, 321, 330, 336, 342, 343-344, 349, 350
- Gretel* (play), 44
- Gross, Wilhelm, 131
- Grünfeld, Dr., 136, 137, 264
- Guas Ngishu Plateau, 351
- Güdemann, Moritz, Chief Rabbi of Vienna, 71-72, 74, 76-77, 80, 87, 89, 90, 142-143
- Gunnersbury, 275
- Günzberg, Baron Horace de, 313
- Gutmann, David, 83
- Haas, Jacob de, 122, 134, 135, 144, 222
- Hague, The, 180, 209, 210
- Haham Bashi*, 242
- Haifa, 277, 281
- Hamaggid*, 138
- Hamburg, 37, 62
- Hartmann, Ernst, 33, 38
- Hartwig, von, 310, 314-315, 335
- Hashiloach*, 161
- Hastings, 42
- Hauran, 142
- Hebrew language, 22, 95, 102, 174, 284, 378
- Hebrew University, 105
- Hechler, Rev. W., 105, 116, 130-131, 141, 151, 170, 177, 178, 193, 196, 200, 212, 216, 361
- Hedjaz railway, 230, 264, 266
- Heidelberg, 36
- Heine, 40, 73
- Heinemann, William, 84
- Hertz, Rev. Dr. J. H., 222
- Hertzka, Theodor, 77
- Herzl, Hans, 46, 365
- Jacob, 19, 20, 35, 39, 146, 147, 206, 246; death of, 268-269
- Jeanette (Theodor's mother), 19, 322, 357
- Julie (Theodor's wife), 49, 357, 361-362, 365
- Pauline (Theodor's sister), 19, 25
- Pauline (Theodor's daughter), 44, 365
- Simon (Theodor's grandfather), 20, 24, 25, 112
- Trude (Margarete, Theodor's daughter), 50, 365

- Hess, Moses, 101, 239
 Hesse, 191
 Hesse, General von, 250
 Hesse, Grand Duke of, 108, 212, 216, 304
Hevra Kadisha, 21
 Heyse, Paul, 62
 Hildesheimer, Hirsch, 139, 140, 145
 Hill, Sir Clement, 321, 330, 342
 Hindlip, Lord, 336
 Hirsch, Baron de, 68-70, 74, 86, 98, 107, 126
 Hirsch Foundation. *See* Jewish Colonization Association
 Hirsch, Dr. S. A., 86
Hirschhorn Case, The, 53
Hochschule, 254
 Hoehne (German diplomat), 66
 Holland, 36
 Holy Places, 110, 152, 162, 311, 347
 Holy Synod, 303
 Holzmann, Dr., 140
 Hotel Castille, 123, 179, 211
 House of Commons, 118
 House of Lords, 270
Hovevei Zion, 86, 100, 102, 103, 121, 122, 127, 138-139, 140, 143, 144, 145, 152, 160, 168, 247, 337
 Hungarian Government, 357
 Hurst, C. J. B., 321
 Ibrahim Bey, 240, 241, 244-245, 252, 253, 258, 261, 263, 264-266, 276, 277, 278-279, 296, 376
 Ignatius, Father, 183
I Love You (play), 44, 220
 Illnesses, Herzl's, 169, 195, 211; cerebral anemia, 226, 248, 257; palpitations of heart, 289, 323; fainting fit, 291; exhaustion, 334; deterioration of heart, 357-358; final illness, 360-361
 Immigration, into Palestine, 129, 155, 236, 250; into Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, 262; into England, 270 *seq.*; restriction in America, 328
 Inquisition, 20
 Inter-marriage, 273
 Iricz, Adolf, 21
 Irvingite Church, 249
 Ischl, 140
 Ish-Kishor, E., 122
 Isle of Wight, 42
 Ismailia, 294
 Israel, State of, 367, 369, 378
Israeïtische Union, 136
 Israels, Josef, 180
 Italy, 39, 46
 "I.T.O." *See* Jewish Territorial Organization
 Izzet Bey, Sultan's secretary, 108, 112, 114, 127, 129, 219, 244-245, 252, 259, 260, 261, 263-264, 265-267, 296, 306, 340, 352
 Jabotinsky, V., 332
 Jacobs, Joseph, 85
 Jacobson, Dr. Victor, 323, 329, 339
 Jaffa, 192-193
 Jaffa-Jerusalem railway, 238
Jahreskonferenz, 289
 Jakowlew, 112-113
 James of Hereford, Lord, 268, 274-275
 Jameson, Dr. Starr, 251
Ja-Sager, 331
 Jasinowski, Dr. I., 306, 339
 Jawitz, Wolf, 318
 Jensen, W., 30
 Jericho, 281

- Jerusalem, British Consul, 101;
Herzl's visit, 195-196; Sandjak
of, 285
- Jewish Academy, 283
- Jewish Chronicle* (London), 85-
86, 90, 183
- Jewish Colonial Trust (Bank), 168,
174-175, 180, 181, 204, 205-206,
211-212, 214, 220, 221-222, 228,
238, 239, 240, 248, 253, 254, 265,
297, 312, 321, 324, 331, 367
- Jewish Colonization Association,
69, 119, 123, 128, 134, 165, 211,
247-249, 292-293, 300, 301, 332
- Jewish Company, 94-95, 163
- Jewish Eastern Company, 282,
285, 287, 289, 292, 297
- Jewish National Fund, 157, 161,
165, 255
- Jewish question, 55 *seq.*, 60-61, 67
seq., 81, 273 *seq.*
- Jewish Society, 282
- Jewish State, The* (brochure), 27,
72-73, 91-96, 97 *seq.*, 117, 127,
139, 141, 142-143, 179
- Jewish State, 89-90, 247, 366, 378
- Jewish Territorial Organization,
345
- Jewish Workingmen's Club (Lon-
don), 120
- Jewish World, The*, 183
- Jezreel, Vale of, 282
- Joffe, Dr., 293
- Johnston, Sir Harry, 335
- Joneu, von, 315
- Journal of a Jewish Traveller*, 353
- Judenstaat, Der*, 87, 91, 96-97
- Kadimah* (students' Zionist soci-
ety), 102, 104, 156
- Kahn, Chief Rabbi Zadok. *See*
Zadok Kahn
- Kahn, Dr. Leopold, 306, 350, 352,
354
- Kaiser, German. *See* William II
- Kalischer, Hirsch, 102
- Kana, Heinrich, 33, 44-45
- Kann, Jakobus, 180, 181, 204, 208,
209, 212, 222-223, 232
- Kapnist, Ambassador, 203, 219
- Karatheodory Pasha, 111, 277
- Karlsruhe, 107, 221, 246
- Kätschen* (play), 44
- Kattowitz, 103, 143
- Katzenelsohn, Dr. N., 250, 290,
307, 341, 356, 358-360
- Kellner, Leon, 23, 30, 67, 137, 170,
209, 237
- Kemeth (German official), 195
- Kensington Gardens, 229
- Kessler, Leopold, 293, 297
- Kew Gardens, 250
- Khair Eddin Bey, 113
- Khalil Rifat Pasha, 113
- Kharkov, 339, 344-345, 354
- Khedive of Egypt, 296, 351
- Kingscourt, M., 280
- Kipling, Rudyard, 249
- Kireyev, General, 310, 315, 335
- Kishineff, 302-304
- Koerber, Austrian Premier, 220,
224, 226, 231, 234, 290, 305, 336
- Kohn, Rabbi, 25
- Kokesch, Oser, 103, 137, 306, 350
- Kolinsky, Jenny, 43
- Kolisch, Baron, 40
- Kölnische Zeitung*, 172
- Korwin-Piatrowska, Mme., 306,
340
- Kozmian, Stanislav, 81, 132, 135,
136, 208
- Kremenezky, Johann, 137, 216,
232, 238, 306, 350, 361-362

- Kruger, President, 222
 Krupp, Arthur, 234

 Laharanne, E., 101
 Landau, Saul R., 109
 Langerman, Max, 251
 Lansdowne, Lord, 287-288, 290-291, 294, 300, 320-322, 336, 358
 Laurent, Alex, 293
 Law examination, 34
 — practice, 35
 Lazare, Bernard, 123
 Lazarus, Emma, 101, 174
Leben (Vienna weekly), 23
 Leghorn, 39
 Leo XIII, Pope, 346 *seq.*
 Leopold II, King, 307
 Lesseps, F., 21
 Lessing Theatre, 41
 Leven, Narcisse, 80, 124, 211, 298
 Levin, Dr. Shmarya, 329
 Levin-Epstein, 142
 Levontin, David, 238, 352, 354
 Levy, Joe, 282
 Levysohn, Dr. Arthur, 37
 Liberal Judaism, 249
 Lichtenstein, Prince, 78
 Lieben, Dr., 87
 Lilien, E. M., 371, 372
 Lilienblum, Moses, 102
 Lindau, Paul, 36
 Lippay, Count, 346, 349
 Lippe, Dr. K., 154, 224
 Lisbon, 306
 Lissa and Kann, 232
 Litvak, David, 281, 283
 — Miriam, 283
 Lloyd George, David, 321
 Loan for Turkey, 231-232, 233, 235, 243 *seq.*, 262, 295
 Loeb, 21
 Loewenberg, Friedrich, 280
 Loewenstein, Princess, 249
 London, Herzl's first visit, 42
 — Herzl's speeches in, 120, 121, 182-183, 211-212; Congress in, 227-229; 248
 Louban, Chaim, 343
 Louise, Princess, 275
 Lousada, Herbert, 144, 293-294
 "Lovers of Zion," 99. *See Hovevei Zion*
 Lucanus (German Cabinet official), 167, 204-205
 Lucerne, 34
 Lueger, Karl, 78, 131
Lustige Blätter, 37
 Luz, 46
 Lyttelton, Hon. Alfred, 272

 Maccabaeans, The, 84-85, 117, 119, 134, 248
 Macedonia, 357
 Magyar culture, 25
 "Maledikt," 294
 Mandelstamm, Dr. M., 161, 164, 174, 175, 188, 210, 220, 339
 Mareus, Ahron, 104-105
 Margulies, Chief Rabbi, 341
 Markus, Tobias, 225
 Marmorek, Alexander, 75, 172, 211, 223, 247, 291, 323, 374
 — Oskar, 188, 228, 240, 243-244, 293, 306, 350, 362
 Marranos, 20
 Marriage, Herzl's, 43, 45-46, 49-50
 Marschall, von (Ambassador in Constantinople), 177, 185-186, 189, 191-192, 341
 Marx, Karl, 101
 Mau Escarpment, 330
 Maybaum, Rabbi Dr. S., 149, 167
 Mazie, Dr., 193
 McIlwraith, Malcolm, 299

- Mediterranean, 281, 287, 288
 Medjidije, Order of, 114-115, 134
 ——— Grand Cordon of, 241, 244
 Meisel, Rabbi, 23
 Mensdorf, Count, 360
 Merry del Val, Cardinal, 346
 Mesopotamia, 219, 261-262, 272,
 276-277, 306
 Messiah, 349
 Meyer-Cohn, Heinrich, 76
 Meyerson, Emile, 123-124
 Midian, 301
 Mielziner, Leo, 372
 Mikveh Israel, 193
 Milan, 46
 Milan, King of Serbia, 129
 "Mission of Judaism," 143
 Mocatta, F. D., 117
 Mohilever, Rabbi S., 149
 Moi (Turkish agent), 223
 Mombasa, 330
 Monson, Sir Edward, 110
 Montagnini, Monsignor, 163
 Montagu, Sir Samuel, 85, 99, 111,
 118, 121, 123, 130, 135, 145, 172,
 249
 Monte Carlo, 46
 Montefiore, Claude, 117, 144, 249,
 294
 ——— Sir Moses, 100, 215
 ——— Sir Francis, 215, 229, 247,
 249, 332, 343-344
 More, Thomas, 74
 Moses, Dr. M., 143
 Mosque of Omar, 110
 Motzkin, Leo, 157, 169, 174, 213,
 254
 Mount Carmel, 281
 Mount Herzl, 378
 Mount Vesuvius, 39
 Mozambique, 305-306
 Müller, Adolf, 44
Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung, 98
 Munich, 42, 69, 76, 144, 148
 Muraviev, Count, 203, 217, 219
Müttersöhnchen (farce), 217
 "Mutualism," 282
 Myers, Asher, 85-86
Nachtasyl, 327
 Nairobi, 330
 Naischul, Aryeh, 318
 Naples, 39, 199
 Napoleon Bonaparte, 100, 315
 Napoleon III, 101
 Naschauer, Jacob, 43
 ——— Julie, 42
 Natchevitch (Bulgarian Minister),
 115
 Nathan, Sir Matthew, 85
 National Fund, Jewish. *See* Jew-
 ish National Fund
National-Judentum (by Chief Rab-
 bi Güdemann), 143
 Nazarbek, 119
Nein-Sager, 331
Neue Freie Presse, 37, 40, 41, 42,
 46-47, 49, 60, 75, 79 *seq.*, 88 *seq.*,
 98-99, 115, 128, 131, 147-148,
 162, 165, 169, 171, 172, 180, 209,
 215-216, 217; discussion about
 sale, 218; 223, 226, 234, 241-242,
 246, 248, 258, 263, 265, 270, 279,
 286, 322
Neues von der Venus (causeries),
 41, 53
Neues Wiener Tageblatt, 162
 New Court, 269 *seq.*, 275 *seq.*
New Ghetto, The, 62, 64, 166
 Newlinsky, Count Philip M., 109-
 114, 118, 126-127, 129, 133, 135,
 149, 151, 163, 203-204, 206-208,
 240
 New York, 149

- New York Herald*, 142, 148
 New Zealand, 168
 Nice, 46
 "Night-shelter," 353
 Nile, River, 300, 305
 Noah, Mordecai M., 101
 Nordau, Max, 59-60, 66, 75, 84, 100, 104, 106, 110, 111, 117, 123, 124-125, 134, 154-155, 157, 165, 167, 174, 180, 188, 205, 211, 218, 222, 228, 229, 237, 247, 254, 284, 291, 299, 327-329, 333, 343 (attempt on life), 373
Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung, 98
 Norman, Henry, 272
North American Review, 67
 Nouri Bey, 210, 215, 216-217, 219, 223, 227, 230, 231, 244, 252
 Novikoff, Mme. Olga, 310
 Nutt, David, 99

 Odessa Committee, 103, 139, 140, 337
Oesterreichische Wochenschrift, 143, 146, 165
 Oliphant, Laurence, 101
 Oppenheimer, Dr. Franz, 332, 355
Ostdeutsche Rundschau, 147
 Ostend, 42
 Ottoman Government, 341, 352, 360
 Ottoman Jewish Company, 249, 260
 Ottoman Public Debt, 236, 242, 256, 260, 262, 265, 267, 276, 278

 Padua, 39
 Palace of Peace, 283
Palais Bourbon, *Das* (book), 50, 284
 Palais Bourbon, 49, 156

 Pale of Settlement, 308-309, 313
 Palestine, proposed in *The Jewish State*, 93-94
 Palestine Society, Imperial Russian, 315
Pall Mall Gazette, 163, 171
 Palmerston, Lord, 100-101
 Papal Nuncio, 110, 162, 203
 Paraty, Count, 305-306
 Parc Monceau, 50
 Paris, 34, 37, 47, *seq.*, 60, 75-76, 84, 86, 123, 167, 179, 246, 299-300, 343
 Peace Conference, 209
 Pelusium Plain, 300
 Pereires, 247
 Persecution, 120, 273
 Pest, 24. *See also* Budapest
Pester Journal, 23
Pester Lloyd, 33
 Philanthropy, 326, 332
 Philippson, Franz, 307
Philosophical Tales, 233, 261, 265
 Piatrowska, Mme. von Korwin, 306, 340
 Pilichowski, Leopold, 372
 Pinsker, Leo, 80, 90, 102, 103
 Pisa, 39
 Play-writing, 32, 36, 41-42, 43-44, 51, 54, 57-58, 166, 189, 213, 217, 220, 252, 376
 Plehve, V., 303, 304, 306-315, 334-335, 340, 341-342, 356, 358, 373
 Pogroms, 100, 302-303
 Poland, 103
Politische Korrespondenz, 163, 236
 Politzer, Adam, 36
 Pope Leo XIII, 129, 162; Herzl's audience, 348 *seq.*
 Portheim, Paul von, 33
 Portuguese Government, 305

- Potsdam, 185
 Poznanski (of Lodz), 165
 Prag, Joseph, 122
 Prague, 41, 43, 61, 62, 217
 "Prince of Galilee," 29
 Prince of Wales, 119
 Princess Louise, 275
 Proborski, Dr., 207-208
 Procurator of Holy Synod, 218, 304
 Protectorate in Palestine, 184, 199, 204, 205
 Proust, Marcel, 48
 Pyrenees, 46

 Queen's Hall, 229

 Rabinowicz, E. W., 122
 Rabbis and Zionism, 149, 153, 161, 183, 229
 Rabinowicz, Oskar K., 95, 321
 Rampolla, Cardinal, 129
 Rapoport, S., 119
 Raškin, Saul, 372
 Ravachol, 49
 Rehovoth, 142, 193, 281
 Reichenau, 43, 44, 212
 Reichenfeld, M., 218
 Reichstag, 28
Reichswehr, 147
 Reiss, Lionel S., 371
 Reitlinger, Benno, 236, 247
 Renan, Ernest, 34
 Revolutionary parties, 311
 Rheinberg, 58
 Rhodes, Cecil, 251-252, 256, 264
 Richmond, 249
 Richthofen, Baron, 334
 Rishon le-Zion, 103, 193
 "Ritual murder," 303
 Rodin, Auguste, 48
 Rohling, August, 78

 Rome, 39, 346 *seq.*
Rome and Jerusalem, 101, 239
 Rosebery, Lord, 271, 276
 Rosenbaum, S., 345
 Rosenfeld, Dionys, 108-109
 Rostkowski, Consul, 313, 315
 Rothschild, Hannah, 271
 Rothschild, Albert (Vienna), 74
 — Alfred de (London), 271
 — Baron Edmond de (Paris), 103, 110, 117, 119, 123-124, 127, 140, 145, 152, 163, 171-172, 193, 247, 256, 295, 299
 — Baron Alphonse de, 295, 299
 — Dr. Henri de, 172
 — Leopold de (London), 271-272
 — Lord (Nathaniel) (London), 236, 268 *seq.*, 274, 279, 285, 287, 288, 291, 293, 295, 298, 299-300, 301, 307, 314, 336, 356
 Rouvier (French Minister), 256, 265, 267, 269, 272, 276-278
 Royal Commission, 267
 Rülff, Rabbi, Dr. I., 138, 149
 Rumania, Zionists in, 102, 103, 121, 158; conditions in, 224, 228, 271, 272; Jews of, 69, 226, 274
 Russia, Zionists in, 100, 102, 173, 214, 215, 228, 239, 324, 334, 337; attitude to Zionism, 308 *seq.*, 356
 — Jews of, 69, 139, 140, 152, 159-160, 203, 302 *seq.*, 310 *seq.*
 Russian Ambassador (Constantinople), 335, 340, 344, 349
 — (Vienna), 305

 Said Pasha, Grand Vizier, 277
 Salisbury, Lord, 110, 141, 217, 222, 229
 Salvador, Joseph, 101

- Salz, Dr., 143
 Salzburg, 35
 Salzkammergut, 61
 Samuel, Dr. Jacob, 57–58
 Sassoon, Sir Edward, 172
 Sanderson, Sir Thomas, 290–291,
 292, 296
 San Sebastian, 47
 Savonarola, 61
 Schach, Fabius, 157
 Schatz, Boris, 372
 Scheid, 131, 142
 Schiff, Jacob H., 299, 356, 358
 Schleimele, Reb, 318
 Schleswig-Holstein, Duke Günter
 von, 131
 Schnabel, Albert, 59
 Schnirer, Moritz, 137, 188, 195,
 198
 Schnitzler, Arthur, 41, 51–54, 59
 Schoenerer, Georg von, 28, 78, 147
 Scheller, 234
 Schoub, 142, 195
 Schramm, von, 58
 Schütz, 99
 Schwarzkoppen, von, 66
 Seidener, J., 137, 188, 197–198, 238
Seine Hoheit (play), 37, 41
 Seligman, Isaac, 171, 181, 249
 Seligmann and Marx, 172
 Semenoff, E., 303
 Semlin, 19, 20, 24, 105
 Sephardim, 153
 Shaftesbury, Earl of, 100
 Shapira, Prof. H., 157
 Shekel, 158, 339
 Shield of David, 147
 Shükri Pasha, General, 341
 Siberia, 324
 Simon, Leon, 375
 Sinai Peninsula, 88, 275, 286 *seq.*;
 expedition, 293 *seq.*, 300–301,
 305, 325
Sinful Mother, The, 38
 Singer, I., 303
 Singer, Rev. S., 85–86, 111, 117,
 119
 Smolenskin, Perez, 102
 Socialism, 56
 Socialists, 175, 309, 316, 328
Société d'Etudes, 82–83
 Society of Jews, 94, 108, 111, 116–
 118, 125, 163
 Sofia, 104, 112, 115
 Sokolow, N., 173, 214, 229, 284–
 331, 332
 Sola, Clarence de, 222
 Solomon, Solomon J., 85, 119, 372
Solon in Lydia, 44, 252
 Sonnenthal, Adolf, 44
 South Africa, 293
 Spain, 20
 Spaniolish, 115
 "Speech to the Rothschilds," 83–
 84, 91, 124
 Speidel, Ludwig, 55, 63
 Spinoza, 238
 St. Martin's Town Hall, 211
 St. Petersburg, 217, 303, 307 *seq.*
 Staal (Russian Ambassador), 210
 Stadt-Casino, 153
 Stand, Adolf, 137
 Stead, W. T., 210, 251
 Steed, H. Wickham, 377
 Stein, Prof. Ludwig, 167
 Steinek, 282
 Stephens, G. H., 292–293, 298–299,
 300
 Stockhammern, Franz, v., 202
 Stourdza, Prime Minister (Ru-
 mania), 14–18
 Stock Exchange (Vienna), 35
 Straus, Oscar, 219

- Struck, Hermann, 370-371
 Sublime Porte. *See* Yildiz Kiosk
 Sudermann, Hermann, 40
 Suez Canal, 22, 293, 301
 Suffield, Lord, 256
 Sultan of Turkey. *See* Abdul Hamid
 Sulzberger, Cyrus, 328
 Suttner, Baroness von, 64, 203, 209, 219, 305, 306, 370
 Swaythling, Lord, 85
 Switzerland, 102
 Synagogue, in Budapest, 21, 23, 64; in Paris, 64; in Sofia, 115; in Basle, 153, 323; in Vilna, 316
 Syria, 250, 261
 Syrkin, Dr. N., 328
 Szeps, Moritz, 37

Tabarin (play), 36
 Tahsin Bey, 210, 239, 241, 244-245, 259, 265, 276, 279, 287, 296
 Taliani, Emigidius, 162, 203
Talmudjude, Der, 78
 Tanaland, 342
 "Tancred," 29, 100
 Tashkent, 324
 Tel-Aviv, 284
 Temple, 283
Teufels Weib, Das (play), 44
 Teweles, Heinrich, 41, 60-61
 Tewfik Pasha, 111
 Thon, Rabbi Dr. O., 143
 Tiberias, 281
Times, The (London), 40, 304, 335, 336, 378
 Tiomkin, Vladimir, 331, 339, 345
 Tisza, Count, 357
 Tittoni, Italian Foreign Minister, 348, 349
 Tolstoi, Leo, 99
 Transjordan, 101

 Trietsch, Davis, 286
 Triple Alliance, 336
 Trouville, 37, 42
 Tsar of Russia, 118, 119, 127, 135, 203, 205, 209, 210, 216-217, 220, 290, 295, 304-305, 306, 312, 314, 338, 340
 Tschlenow, Dr., 247, 323, 329, 355
 Turkish Ambassador (Vienna), 134, 145, 232, 264-265; (Berlin), 166, 232-233; (London), 272, 276
 Turkish Government, 108, 133, 165, 217, 231, 232, 236, 250, 282, 290, 295-296, 306
 Turoff, Isaac, 143
 Tyrol, 246

 Uganda, 271, 299 *seq.*, 305, 335, 354
Uncle Tom's Cabin, 65
 Unemployment, problem of, 55
 United Nations, 366, 378
 United States, 101, 102, 153, 169, 173, 228, 345
 University, of Vienna, 27; for Jerusalem, 266; of Zion, 282
Unser Käthchen (comedy), 188
 Ussishkin, Menahem, 140-141, 173, 247, 337-339
 Usury, 56, 191
 Utopia, 74, 77, 87, 91, 136, 280, 372

 Vale of Jezreel, 218
 Vallance, Mr., 272
 Vambéry, Arminius, 224-225, 230-231, 232-233, 238-240, 248, 250, 252, 258, 370
 Vancouver, 378
 Vatican, 162, 163, 203, 347 *seq.*
 Venice, 39, 46, 255, 346

- Ventnor, 42
 Victor Emmanuel, King, 346-348
 Vienna, removal to, 26-27; anti-Semitism in, 78; Herzl's first public meeting, 136; Executive, 214
 Vilna, Herzl's visit to, 315-319
 Vladimir, Grand Duke, 141

 Wady el-Chanin, 193
 Wagner, Richard, 31
 Wallner, Franz, 42
 Washington, 237
 Wasserstein, 58
 Weisgal, M. W., 371, 373
 Wellisch, Dr., 239, 241, 258, 264-265, 266-267
 Weizmann, Chaim, 173, 214, 254, 284, 329, 368
 Wellington, 378
Welt, Die, 146, 147-148, 149, 150, 167, 170, 172, 189, 199, 209, 216, 226, 237, 285, 338, 344, 362
 Werki (suburb of Vilna), 316-317
 Werner, Dr. S., 189, 362
 ——— Rabbi, 183
 Western Wall, 195, 347
 White, Arnold, 270
 Whitechapel, 85, 182; Board of Guardians, 272
 Whitman, Sidney, 115, 127, 142, 145, 146, 148, 181
 Wiart, Carton de, 299
Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung, 33-34, 36, 37, 39, 43, 98, 135
Wiener Tagblatt, 37
Wilddiebe, Die (play), 42
 Will, Herzl's, 364-365
 William II, Kaiser, 106, 130-131, 164, 165, 167, 170-171, 174, 179, 180, 183, 187, 190 (audience to Herzl), 194 (meeting with Herzl), 196 (second audience to Herzl), 199, 204, 205, 335, 371
 Wise, Dr. Stephen, 174
 Witte, Count Serge, 210, 307, 310 *seq.*
 Wittman, Hugo, 42, 44, 47
 Wolf, Lucien, 85, 117, 119, 336
 Wolffsohn, David, 138-141, 168, 171, 172, 174, 175, 180, 181, 188, 190, 192, 194, 198, 204, 208, 211, 212, 222-223, 232, 240, 243-244, 269, 276, 281, 299, 361, 364, 370
 World War, First, 369
 ——— Second, 369
 Worthing, 42
 Wurzelechner, Dr. F., 57

 Yellin, David, 105
 Yildiz Kiosk, 113, 126, 145, 163, 177, 190, 236, 241, 246, 252, 263
 York-Steiner, H., 137

 Zadok Kahn, Chief Rabbi, 80, 84, 110, 117, 118, 128, 131, 134, 143, 149, 165, 247, 301
 Zangwill, Israel, 84, 229, 248, 249, 332, 333, 345, 373
Zeit, Die, 257, 286
 Ziad Pasha, 111-112
 Zichron Jacob, 337-338
 Zinoviev (Russian Ambassador), 315, 341
 Zionism, origin of word, 102
 Zionist Congress. *See* Congress
 Zionist Executive, 216, 232, 240, 264, 294, 298, 306-307, 331, 345, 355
 Zionist Organization, 163, 168, 174, 366
 Zionist Program, 157
Zion (Berlin monthly), 90
 Zola, Emile, 48, 66
 Zorn, Prof., 210



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